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SOCIALISM

SOCIALISM AND FEMINISM

WITH AN INTRODUCTION ON

THE CLIMAX OF CIVILISATION

BY

CORREA MOYLAN WALSH

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BY
CORREA MOYLAN WALSH

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PREFATORY NOTE

Simultaneously with this volume are published two others entitled *The Climax of Civilisation* and *Feminism*. The three form a series, of which this is the second. *The Climax of Civilisation* is the introductory Part, and the Preface to it explains the connection of the three and the reason for separating them. This volume constitutes a work by itself, which the reader can understand without first reading *The Climax of Civilisation;* and yet his comprehension of the argument running through it will be improved by consultation with that book. References back to that book are here sometimes made in the text currently, as if the two were within the same covers; and in the notes they are sometimes indicated simply as to vol. i. The third book on *Feminism* is complementary to this, as its subject is complementary to the subject here treated.

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SOCIALISM

SOCIALISM

CHAPTER I.

SOCIALISM AND PEACE

Socialism, so far as it has any pretension to be put into practise, is an outcome of peace and plenty. As a mere aspiration after equality, it may appear at any time, and perhaps most longingly in the midst of strife. But it is only in the piping times of peace that anybody can seriously entertain a hope of its realisation. For warfare, beside requiring distinctions of rank, makes distinctions between what before may have seemed to be equals, elevating the one side into victors and humbling the other into subjects. Thus socialism is contingent upon the existence of peace, and upon its continuance, since a renewal of fighting will destroy the equality which is its essence. It must therefore itself premise peace, claiming an inherent power in itself to procure and secure it. It needs plenty also, as without plenty there cannot be contentment, and without contentment there is temptation to fault-finding, quarrelsomeness, and discord. Hence the high promises of all socialists.

Socialism is no new thing in the world, but our modern socialism has features of its own. Greek socialism, realised in Crete and in Sparta and idealised by Plato, was of the upper classes. Roman socialism, in the later empire, was of the middle classes. Our modern socialism is of the lower classes. Neither of those predecessors was complete, and therefore their ill-success can hardly be used as a precedent condemning the modern repetition to failure if it ever completely establishes itself. Yet the fact that neither of the upper classes could successfully carry out their socialism, leads to a presumption that the lower classes will be still less capable of doing it. At all events they are doomed to fail unless or until they become more intelligent than the *eupatrids* of Greece and the *populus* of Rome.

Unfortunately we know the full, though unfinished, history of socialism (for it is still in the making) only in modern times, as

our information about social doings in antiquity is deficient. In our times socialism has passed through four periods. Each of the first two ran through two stages, and the third had another additional stage. The first stage was fiction, the last public action. The new stage was private action. The first period was in the sixteenth century, and began with More in his fiction of Utopia,[1] and ended with the Anabaptist communism which succeeded to the uprising of the peasants. The next period was in the eighteenth century, beginning with Morelly, who again started the ball rolling with a romance, although a hundred years before an isolated work of that sort had been written by Campanella. This period ended with the conspiracy of Babeuf, when in the seventh year of the French revolution the lowest classes unsuccessfully tried to imitate the bourgeoisie in revolting, but acted prematurely and were suppressed. Then, in the nineteenth century, upon the restoration of peace, the third period began, in earnest this time, and with the new feature of private efforts to give independence to the hand-working classes, such as were actually made by Owen and by Cabet, who had composed a Utopian fiction, and by the followers of Fourier, who worked out a full scheme. Like the previous writers, these would-be founders were philanthropists of the upper classes — even Owen, who, though he sprang from the labouring class, had risen to be an employer before he engaged in such undertakings. Their failure led not unnaturally to the last stage of public action or revolution, in which the lower classes are to take the matter in their own hands, though they were urged thereto first by men of the upper classes, and are to seize the government and employ its agency everywhere for establishing equality both in production and in distribution. Such was the teaching of Saint-Simon, who, however, believed that the lower classes still needed to be led by men from the upper classes; and this teaching was carried further by Louis Blanc, under whose leadership a stinted and stunted attempt was made to introduce it in Paris in 1848, which failed hopelessly. After this, commencing the fourth period, the hegemony of this party passed to Germany, where it first became distinctively a working class movement, and immediately split into two factions, of nationalists under Lassalle, who desired state aid for working men's co-operative societies, and of internationalists under Marx, who taught the working men of all nations to unite and rely on their own efforts. The latter faction ultimately triumphed. All these originally called themselves "communists"; but this am-

1 More gave us the serviceable term, but did not write the first work of the sort. In antiquity Plato wrote two, as is well known. A still earlier one was written by Ezekiel, in the fortieth to the forty-eighth chapters of his book.

biguous term was by now abandoned for one still more ambiguous, the term "socialism" being substituted.[2] Their Utopia came later from America, written with some modifications by Bellamy. Their main doctrine was that common ownership of the instruments of production should everywhere be introduced by a sudden cataclysmic revolution, conducted by the labouring classes, as soon as conditions were ripe for it; but, though Marx and his followers believed that the time was coming very quickly,—in fact, before the end of the last century,—it has not yet come, and the hope for it seems to be dying, and in its place is being substituted the idea of a slow siege, with sapping and mining and successive capture of the outposts before the New Jerusalem be won.

On this account the three sorts of socialists may be best described all as Utopians, that is, as Utopians of three kinds. The first are the Utopians proper, who merely dream dreams, without any intention of seeing them realised, of societies that are both *good places* (eutopiæ) and *no places* (outopiæ).[3] More especially these are Outopians. The second are practical Utopians, who plan projects which they try to realise, either themselves founding societies, or exhorting others to found them, such as on a small scale will make a beginning and serve as a model for all the world to follow. These, more or less, are Eutopians. The third are apocalyptical Utopians, who look forward to an advance of the world into a new era, which at most they try to accelerate by proclaiming its advantages, decking it out attractively in contrast with the present régime, which they denounce in unmeasured terms, and by insisting on its speedy advent. These it may not be improper to call Atopians, though it will be necessary to prove that they deserve this denomination of absurdity.

Politically, present-day socialism is a revulsion from plutocracy, and a threatened uprising of the lower classes. Prior to the French revolution, throughout Europe the middle class was recognised as the third and last estate; for the class below formed no estate, being of no consideration. The third estate itself had been reduced to small importance; but after the discovery of

2 See Engels's account in his preface to the 1890 edition of the *Communist Manifesto*, which was written in 1847 by him and Marx, who put into it many ideas taken bodily from Victor Considerant's pamphlet (16 mo., 84 pp.) *Principes du Socialisme — Manifeste de la Démocratie au XIXe Siècle*, 2d. ed., Paris, 1847 (the 1st in 1843): see W. Tscherkesoff's *Pages of Socialist History*, New York, 1902, ch. x. The term "socialism" had first been used by the adherents of Owen about 1833 (see Spargo, *Socialism*, 10). By 1840 W. Cooke Taylor used "socialist" currently as synonymous with Owenite, *The Natural History of Society*, vol. i. pp. ix, 64 (66–7), 74, 76–7, vol. ii. pp. 80–1, 305. In that year it was introduced upon the Continent by Reybaud, and quickly came into general use.

3 Although this pun was not employed by More, or else he would have named his original city *Ytopia*, as he wrote in Latin, in which language the Greek *u* was represented by *y* and its *u* was the equivalent of the Greek *ou*.

America it began to rise again, and in the Dutch and the American revolutions it first came into acknowledged power, and did so likewise in the French revolution, undisputed for a time. Then loomed up the lower class of the proletariat, as it was called in France (the manufacturing labourers collected in cities and towns), as another estate demanding to be considered,— the fourth estate, as it came to be reckoned.[4] The men of this class in their turn claimed political power, and in America gained it during the first two or three decades of the last century; but in France and elsewhere in Europe, though they once held sway during a few months of convulsion, they did not come into a fair share of political power till the last quarter of that century. And with their acquisition of such power against determined opposition, arose the desire to enlarge it and to use it for their own class-purposes. In America, where the opposition had been slight, this desire has arisen only after the abuse of power by those of the middle class who have climbed out of their own class to excessive wealth, and who, in order to augment still more their possessions, have used their money corruptly to purchase privilege. Against the abusive oppression of wealth everywhere, or of capitalism mistaken for the essential factor, socialism is the system which the lower classes and their advocates, organised into a party which fosters the " class-consciousness " of the newly adolescent fourth estate, would by revolution or otherwise substitute for the present system which permits the evil of oppression. Instead of correction, reconstruction is proposed.

The advance of civilisation itself, we have seen, has been obtained by revolutions. Revolutions are the uprisings of one class against another, of a lower against a higher, with some pulling down of the latter. In all revolutions a class below seeks liberation from the domination, become oppressive, of a class above, and equality with that class, whose eminence it disputes. It seeks such liberty and equality for itself primarily, and not for the classes still further below, except that, at the commencement, as it needs their aid in the struggle, it makes promises to them, which it thinks sufficiently fulfilled by liberating them from the same yoke of the upper class, though still keeping them below itself. The attainment by this class of equality with the former upper class is effected partly by pulling down that class from its position of advantage and privilege, and partly by raising itself up somewhat toward that position of advantage and privilege. The other lower classes therefore soon find that they have but

[4] *Cf.* R. Meyer, *Die Emancipationskampf des vierten Standes*, 2d ed., Berlin, 1882, pp. 24–6.

changed masters, and even though the later masters may be more indulgent, those classes in their turn yearn for, and finally seek, similar liberation and equalisation. When this process reaches the very lowest classes, there must be an end to the series. If the very lowest class succeeds in liberating itself (emancipating its members, they say, as though they still were slaves) from the rule of the several classes above it and in equalising itself in political power with them, then all classes are independent and all equal. Such political liberation and such political equalisation have already in some countries been attained. This is democracy, and the revolution by which it is attained is rightly the last in the political line.[5] Political liberty and equality at hand, the various classes ought to work in harmony for social improvement, respecting and maintaining the natural differences and subordinations that necessarily enter into society. But no: such a limited condition of liberty and equality is not considered enough. Also desired are economic liberation and economic equalisation. Such an economic state contains irreconcilable elements, the forced equalisation of natural differences being incompatible with personal liberty; but as personal liberty has not brought much appreciable enjoyment to the lowest classes, they do not miss it from their prospect. Equality is the main aim, and all the liberty that is compatible with it may be maintained, but no more. The new party is thus opposed to the old party of the liberals, who make liberty the first principle, they being of the middle classes, who desire freedom from interference by the upper classes, and do not care for equality with themselves of the lower classes. The new reformers, it has been said, are the fanatics of equality, just as the economists of mid last century, who guided the liberal party, were the fanatics of liberty.[6] The system underlying these demands is more than democracy in its old sense of pantocracy: it is democracy proper, in the sense of the rule of the *demos;* and because it affects society as well as government, it has received the name of "socialism"; or, to indicate its relation to the old democracy, as supplementary, it has been denominated "social democracy." This distinguishes it from the other, purely political democracy, however radical the latter may be. It might also be called "democratic socialism," to distinguish it from other possible kinds of socialism, such as Plato's, which was aristocratic. The term "socialism" is utterly vague, and would be applicable to any effort at social reform. The movement now under way,

5 *Cf.* T. Erskine, *View of the War with France*, 1797, p. 68 (quoted in the author's *Political Science of John Adams*, 217).
6 H. von Sybel, *Vorträge und Aufsätze*, 139.

primarily a labour movement, which so designates itself, has also, from its means, been denominated "collectivism";[7] but, from its end, it would be still better characterised as "equalism" (or "egalitarianism").[8]

The last social revolution, then, whether accomplished suddenly or by slow degrees, differs from all previous revolutions. Those are described by socialists as selfish contests, since they were made by a class for its own gain solely, leaving others out of the benefits; whereas the impending revolution will leave no one out, but will be for the benefit of all,[9] since the class of labourers — itself sometimes treated as not being really a class even now [10]— has no intention of subjecting any other class to itself, there being none lower than it, but, on the contrary, it intends to absorb all the previously upper classes into its own capacious bosom, thereby destroying all classes, itself included.[11] The ideal is of a "classless" society or state;[12] for all are to be labourers, and society is to be based no longer on wealth as hitherto, but on labour; wherefore a new social organisation will be necessary, and political power, which is organising as well as organised power, must be "in the hands of labour."[13] Labourers, indeed, are to be in control,[14] but as all, to repeat, are to be labourers, including women, all are to be in control; which will be the completest and most

7 Because all instruments of production are to be handed over to "the collectivity." The term was used at the Congress of the International Workingmen's Association at Brussels in 1868: see Laveleye, *Le Socialisme contemporain,* 5th ed., p. 187, *cf.* 268. The term, as is evident, is likewise vague.

8 Some would confine the latter characteristic to communism and thereby from it distinguish socialism. But socialism does aim at equality, and the distinction properly is that communism aims at absolute equality, while socialism aims at relative or proportional equality. Present-day socialism aims at this, as we shall see, indefinite end through an, as we shall see, indefinite collectivism.— Collectivism, of course, need not include equalisation of all persons in property and station; and so far as socialism, as collectivism, is not equalism, or has not been instituted and conducted on the principle of equalism, it is not the subject of animadversion in this work.

9 *Cf.* a populariser of socialism, Rev. C. H. Vail: "Socialism is not merely a class movement. . . . It concerns all classes and will equally benefit all classes. . . . But the initiative must come from the labouring class," *Modern Socialism,* 165.

10 Thus Gronlund at the opening of his *Co-operative Commonwealth* quotes Frederic Harrison to the effect that "the working class is the only class which is not a class." So also W. E. Walling treats labourers as not forming a class, and describes "the conflict of socialism" as "not in reality a class-struggle," but "a struggle of the ruling class against the rest of the human race," *The Larger Aspects of Socialism,* p. xii. "It is," says Ghent, "the Social-minded Mass arraying itself against the unsocial-minded classes," *Mass and Class,* 245.

11 This Hegelian destruction of a thesis and antithesis by their synthesis was first propounded in the *Communist Manifesto* of 1847 (Sect. II., end), and was originated by Marx, according to Engels in his preface to the 1883 ed. of that paper. See also Marx's views in Rae's *Contempory Socialism,* 3d ed., p. 140. Such, however, had already been declared to have been the purpose of the third estate at the time of the French revolution, by Max Stirner, *Der Einzige und sein Eigentum,* Reclam's ed., 124, 141, which was published in 1844.

12 Morris Hillquit, *Socialism in Theory and Practice,* 63, 131; "a society of industrial equals," 87.

13 Karl Pearson, *The Ethic of Freethought,* 335, 338–9, *cf.* 349.

14 One of the complaints of the socialists, voiced in *The Manifesto of the Socialist League,* adopted at the General Conference held in London, July 5, 1885, is that "the workers, although they produce all the wealth of society, have no control over its production or distribution," p. 5 of Bax's and Morris's ed.

perfect democracy. The impending contest, then, is to be the final fight for the complete liberation and equalisation of all mankind by the abolition of all classes [15]— the very last of all revolutions; [16]— for after its attainment there can be no more revolutions, since there is no lower class that needs liberation and equalisation, nor will there be any oppressed class that may seek to regain power, all the rest having been suppressed. The whole people will form one fraternity, and everybody being free and equal and happy, there can be no more contention. Also, it being supposed that all countries will follow suit when any one leads the way, there will be no more wars between them, as the fraternalism of the parts will spread to the whole, and all the world will be one great union, knowing its true interest, and therefore at peace with itself.[17] In the meantime, even, it has been maintained, the working classes of all nations well perceive that their only enemy is the class of their exploiters, against whom they will wage one last social war, but will not permit any war between their own and another nation, which would be fratricidal,[18]— a resolve which was flagrantly broken in 1870 and again in 1914.[19] The prospect of fraternalism, however, is still dangled before the eyes of men who feel anything but brotherly love in their hearts, and the claim is still made that when the socialistic scheme shall be put into execution, it will form a new era in the world — an age of industrialism contradistinguished

15 Lassalle, *Arbeiterprogramm*, 1863, in *Gesamtwerke*, i. 187–8, *cf.* 193; Ghent, *Mass and Class*, 67, 247; Spargo, *Socialism*, 200; Hillquit, *op. cit.*, 63.

16 Bebel, *Die Frau und der Sozialismus*, 352; Gronlund, *Co-operative Commonwealth*, 302–3. That the revolution which was to follow the French revolution, meaning the Babouvist uprising for complete equality, would be the last, was said in 1796 by Sylvain Maréchal in his *Manifesto of the Equals:* see Sudre, *Histoire du Communisme*, 301.

17 Bebel, *Die Frau*, etc., 353.

18 Thus the Brussels Congress of the International Workingmen's Association in 1868 "protested against war 'with the greatest energy'; invited all the sections of the association to act 'with the greatest activity' in their respective countries, so as to prevent 'a war of people with people, which to-day can only be considered a civil war'; recommended to the workingmen 'to cease all work in case war should break out in their respective countries'; and finished by urging all workingmen to sustain 'this war of the nations against war,'" E. Villetard, *History of the International*, Susan M. Day's translation, New Haven, 1874, p. 221. The same attitude was maintained till recently. In 1907 Gustave Hervé in his speech on *Antipatriotism* (published in English by the New York Labor News Company) avowed that "for us the world contains but two nations: that of the favored of fortune, and that of the dispossessed," p. 16; and proclaimed that the socialist "war-cry" is "Rebellion sooner than war," p. 28.

19 In 1870, says Villetard, the German members of the International "recognised boldly the necessity of defending German territory against the aggression of France. They only condemned it when it had changed its character and become on the part of Prussia a war of conquest," *op. cit.*, 227. The conduct of the German socialists is precisely the same to-day. "Their protest," Villetard continues, "had no other effect than to cause the arrest of those who had written it; and we have never heard that a single soldier deserted or refused to fight, in order to remain faithful to the theories of the association concerning wars between nations." So again to-day. It is very clever of the Germans to get the socialists of other nations to oppose war, while in their own the compulsory military service absolutely prevents any German socialist from putting his theory into practice.

from all the past, which has been an age of militarism; and as it contains no submerged element of disaffection that may upheave and overthrow, it will last till the end of time,[20] and constitute the second great half of human history. We are now going out of the back gate of the first half and crossing the way to the front portal of the second and last.

Such are the hopes entertained by the socialists. They even invoke miracle: men may now be unequal in their capacities, but that is due to their unequal treatment; when they are all treated alike, they will become equal in their bodies and their minds.[21] If so much as their most moderate expectations were realisable, no one with a spark of human kindness and of good will toward men could wish them nay. Yet we may all of us feel misgiving lest nature does not vouchsafe to mankind such felicity here below, and even if such peace and prosperity were permitted, she would not grant contentment. The promises about this termination of history remind us too forcibly of the old-fashioned ending of nursery tales, which told that the hero and the heroine lived in happiness forever afterward; wherefore no details were called for, because such a continuation arouses no interest. Heaven may be constructed on a different plan, but this world seems to be dual,[22] needing cold to offset heat, darkness to display light, badness to distinguish goodness, and unhappiness to appreciate happiness. We attain pleasure after pain, and reach joy through sorrow. The contrast may be vicarious, the excess of misery in the lives of some serving as a foil to the excess of fortune in others, while the prosperity of some turns the want of others into bitterness. In moments of depression we feel like complaining and rebelling, and those who suffer most may cherish such feelings constantly: but complain and rebel against what? against whom? Where the cause lies in another person or in society at large, we should seek to rectify it. But when it lies in nature, either man's or the world's, especially if in our own, we have been well advised not to kick against the pricks.

Now, if the principles laid down in this work be true, there is no prospect of socialism introducing a new and perpetual era of peace and plenty in undisturbed industrialism, making of the future a pendant to all the past. The ever-recurring rounds or cycles of civilisation forbid. A future cycle, thousands of years hence, may be morally better than ours, perhaps because it will not

20 Gronlund, *Co-operative Commonwealth*, 108.

21 *Cf.* Bebel, *Die Frau*, 185. A similar expectation had been entertained by Proudhon. Fourier expected still more marvelous changes of nature. On the coming equality of women with men, more later.

22 *Cf. Ecclesiasticus*, XXXVI. (or XXXIII.) 14–15, also XI. 14 and XLII. 24.

be so materially well off; and in it perhaps socialism may be, not the anti-climax, but the constructive principle. This is not merely a hope, but a possible outlook. But our cycle has been constructed differently, and now socialism brings with it only the germs of dissolution. Its promises are nugatory. Above, the admission has been made that the socialistic revolution is the last *in the series* of class revolutions,— in fact, is going beyond what ought to be the last in that series. But when the socialists infer from this, that it must be and will be absolutely the last, they talk nonsense, in that they overlook the possibility, and the likelihood, of new classes forming within the homogeneous mass to which they would reduce all people, the leaven of natural distinctions therein fermenting and starting again the course toward heterogeneity by raising some above the common level, who will find allies in those who have fallen below it; after which may take place another series of revolutions. As for the promises of peace and plenty, we have seen that nature will before long cease her bountifulness and the pressure of want will again become heavy. The socialists talk of economies to be effected by combination. We shall come upon this again, and here need only remark that economy is saving only, not creative or extractive. There is no probability that all nations of the world will adopt socialism at one and the same time, or even all the civilised nations. Those which do adopt it, if any there be, may wish to live in peace; but though they may have power to refrain from attacking, they cannot prevent themselves from being attacked. It takes two to make a quarrel, says the proverb; but one alone cannot keep the peace, unless he be willing to submit to insult and oppression. If ever socialism is to be attempted, it should be when the power of defence is superior to the power of attack, and not when, as now, the power of attack is immensely greater. The nation which first accepts socialism and introduces equality among all its citizens, will be at a disadvantage in maintaining a disciplined army, with its gradation of ranks, and if it really fulfils the expectations of its reorganisers, its wealth and its weakness would but expose it all the more to attack from the unsocialised and evil-minded nations by which it is surrounded. Wars can never be stopped by one set of men incapacitating themselves from fighting; and peace will not be on earth till the whole world be moralised; which may take ages yet to achieve. Nor is it advisable that peace should come until mankind be perfected; for in the way which nature has instituted, strife is one of the necessary instruments of improvement.[23]

[23] "Deplore it as we may," the mild and gentle socialist Kirkup admits, "force,

Still another disintegrating influence of socialism remains to be mentioned. Socialists talk as if in the coming revolution the lower classes are to be levelled up to the upper classes. This, in fact, constitutes the chief charm of their dream. But it is delusive, because all that the equal distribution of products, which is the aim, can do, is to reduce all levels to one level, which is at the general average; but on account of the vastly greater number of the poor compared with the rich, the average is much nearer to the level of the poor than to the level of the rich. This means that the pulling down of the few will go much further than the raising up of the many. It has been calculated by geographers that if all the mountains on the earth were to be leveled down, the plains would be raised only a few feet. So it is in economics: the raising of the many "plain people" might be hardly appreciable, while the destruction of the few eminences and summits would leave a glaring void. As civilisation is mostly carried on by the upper classes, or by those who rise or would rise thereto, their wiping-out would be a blow to civilisation itself. For this reason socialism, if adopted at the height of a cycle, can only hasten the decline and fall. If ever adopted at the beginning of a new cycle, it is possible that an aristocracy of merit may take the place of an aristocracy of means; but when a cycle has been launched on the principle of means, it cannot make a sudden *volte-face*.

Such socialism as is now advocated we have in fact seen to be a germination of the seeds of decay. It is an outgrowth of the excessive individualism which results upon the removal of the binding pressure from the outside, which comes when the most highly civilised nation or nations have established themselves in a position of safety founded on supremacy. Socialism, as collectivism, is often contrasted with individualism; but it may be cited as an instance of the cases noticed by Plato and by Cicero,[24] of too much of a thing swinging over too far into its opposite. There is the spirit of combination always, and always the spirit of individualism. In the rising period of civilisation it is combination of individuals for the common good of all, for their safety against others. In the culminating period combination is less important, except for private ends, and individualism comes to the front. The evils of this tend to lead, in the descending period, to combination of all for the separate good of each. In the first, the whole uses the parts; in the last, the parts use the whole.

violence, and war are potent factors in the real development of mankind," *An Inquiry into Socialism*, 102.

[24] *The Republic*, VIII. 563E; *De Re publica*, I. xliv. 68.

The welfare of the whole is no longer the main object, nor is attention paid to its continuity. Every one is looking out for himself and for his present life on earth or his future life in heaven, without regard to what may happen afterward to others on earth. Combination is made because the greatest number of individuals believe they can improve each his own condition thereby. It is really the individual and not the collection that is cared for; wherefore it cannot surprise if strangely perverted ideas are entertained on the subject. In reorganising society every one seems to think not so much of contributing as of receiving, of being supported by the government rather than of supporting the government, and instead of fighting and working for others, of fighting not at all and working as little as possible. Somehow it is expected that where every one puts in a penny he shall draw out a pound. Such views can only lead to the depletion of accumulated stores.

We may now turn to examine the tendencies to deterioration, disintegration, and impotency, that are inherent in socialism.

CHAPTER II.

INHERENT TENDENCIES TO DETERIORATION

THE beginning, middle, and end of socialism is equality. "The equal right to enjoy" is the principle; "equality in enjoyment" the aim; "equality in the social conditions of existence" the means.[1] Therefore the object sought being the completest social and economic equality possible, systems of socialism are distinguished by the amount of equality they allege to be attainable and by the means whereby they would attain it. To-day the socialism that is a power in the world, being organised in a party in several countries (and a party which pretends to be the same everywhere), is a socialism which would attain its end by giving to the public the ownership of all the sources and instruments of production (including distribution and transportation) available for a livelihood. Among such are land, at least all that is not actually covered by dwellings, and the mineral deposits in it, as also the sea and its fisheries, and all factories, ships and railways, and all machinery and tools that are used in industry for the purpose of gain by trade. This is the socialism of Karl Marx, whose followers now everywhere (or until recently in Germany) have the field. Henry George, who was preceded by Patrick Edward Dove, has taught that it is sufficient if the sources of production, namely land and all its contents, be taken over by the state, which he shows may be most easily and practically done by the state allowing nominal ownership to continue as at present, but putting all taxation upon land only, and taxing all land up to, or nearly up to, its full rental value. This is only a semi-socialism, and need not be socialistic at all. Full socialism goes further and enjoins that all the instruments by which the land is tilled or mined and by which his products are worked up into completed articles and brought to the consumers, shall belong to the state or whatever other public representative be settled upon,[2] which shall make the

1 *Cf.* Bebel, *Die Frau*, 87.

2 Socialism is defined by Pearson as "the state ownership of land and capital, and the state control of labour," *The Chances of Death and other Studies in Socialism*, i. 114, *cf. The Ethic of Freethought*, 351. But Bebel had said that railways, telegraphs, etc., are to be "property of society," and not, as in Germany to-day, "property of the state," and to the distinction he attached considerable importance, *Die Frau und der Sozialismus*, 294. Bebel, as we shall see, would abolish the state. Yet Hillquit, who would retain it, likewise denies that "what the socialists demand"

distribution to the consumers. Yet this socialism also has set itself limits, and it does not go so far as does out-and-out communism, which communises all possessible things, including all articles of consumption; for it permits the private ownership not only of such articles as are employed for immediate gratification, but also of small tools like needles and even sewing-machines that are used in the household and by individuals for their own immediate purposes. Some socialists to-day, by a wise opportunism, would tolerate ownership of land cultivated and of industries conducted for profit, provided they be on a small scale.[3] The idea of public, in distinction from private, ownership of all or most of the sources and instruments of production for common use, is a clear and, except as to its extent, a definite characteristic. Yet there is some haziness, admitting of different opinions, as to the public that is to be the new owner, and as to the amount of equality in the distribution of the benefits that the individuals are to enjoy. Likewise the method of transition by which the private ownership of to-day is to become the public ownership of to-morrow, has not been accurately settled. This last is something to be hit upon according to opportunities as they occur. The other differences it might be better to decide in advance; and yet socialists must not be too much blamed for willingness to leave what they consider petty details for determination when they come to face them after realising their general plan. Constitutions are usually made after revolutions. Yet sometimes revolutions are shattered by the inability to make the constitutions that are to clinch their results. Details are difficulties causing complexity and perplexity as well to the advocates as to the critics of new schemes.

On the establishment of socialism, in the intent of its advocates, the world would go on very much as it does now in some respects, and in others it would be very much changed indeed. There would be ships sailing the ocean, carrying cargoes, passengers, crews, and officers. Trains would run on the railways, likewise with freight and passengers, and handled by conductors and en-

is "government ownership," affirming that it is "collective" or "public ownership," which includes municipal as well as national and other kinds of ownership in common, *Socialism in Theory and Practice*, 32, 287, *cf.* 87, 109, 164, 320.

3 Kirkup: only the largest industries need be taken over, *Inquiry into Socialism*, 98. Spargo: "Socialism by no means involves the suppression of all private industrial enterprises," *Socialism*, 296, *cf.* 282–4; Hillquit: "a variety of industries of an individual nature, such as the various arts and crafts, must of necessity remain purely individual pursuits," "and other industries, such as small farming, will, at least for many years to come, not be proper objects for socialisation," *op. cit.*, 32, 113. In Europe peasant proprietorship has caused trouble. In Germany at the Social Democratic Congress of Frankfort in 1894 the question was left undecided; but in France in the same year at the Congress of Nantes the socialists decided in favour of continuing to permit the peasants to own their small holdings: see Rae, *Contempory Socialism*, 513–14.

gineers, and superintended by station-masters and from central offices. Factories would be operated by working men and women, under foremen and managers, with bookkeepers, gate-keepers, floor-sweepers, carters, etc. There would be wholesale stores and retail shops, with salesmen and customers. All the multiplicity of modern industrialism and commerce would continue, with only the difference of a lessening of both the most costly and the cheapest articles and of an increased use of medium qualities. There would be municipal and state governments or administrations, under new constitutions of the most democratic pattern, with popular election of all the officials, appointments being made from below, and only dismissals from above, according to one draft.[4] There might even be policemen walking the streets, at least to guide the congested traffic, and perhaps a few soldiers garrisoning the forts, though this is a disputed point.[5] Some socialists say the state would be abolished; but that is really the position only of anarchists, and in the mouths of socialists it is merely a quibble, since the very minute administration they would inaugurate, would be a state government, however different its functioning from that of present states.[6] Yet the same difficulty about the public or collection that is to own the property, would go over as to the size and extent of the new states or central administrations.

In all these occupations the novel feature would be the fact that nobody would live on dividends, interest, or rent, or even on wages or salaries received from another or from a private corporation: the wage-system is abolished, and all laborours are liberated from subjection to other men as their employers, who live, as is said, on their labour; but everybody except the young

4 Gronlund, *Co-operative Commonwealth*, 186, 198; followed by Vail, *Modern Socialism*, 75.

5 Bellamy says: "We have no army or navy"; but he leaves the police system, *Looking Backward*, ch. xix.

6 That the state would no longer exist, was asserted by Engels, *Herrn Eugen Dührings Umwälzung der Wissenschaften*, 267–8, and *Entwickelung des Sozialismus*, 40; who was followed by Bebel, because of a special (and false) definition of the state as the guardian of private property, *Die Frau und der Sozialismus*, 263–4, and on the ground that an administration of things will then take the place of the government of persons, 316–17 (as if the former could be without the latter). This last also by Ernest Belfort Bax, *Essays New and Old*, London, 1906, p. 56; and similarly Gronlund, though he left the state, said "The 'whole people' does not want, or need, any 'government' at all. It simply wants administration — good administration," *op. cit.*, 181. Already in 1844 Marx had expressed the same view about the abolition of the state, and he and Engels (in the *Communist Manifesto*, Part III.) about its "transformation into a mere administration of production"; and it was repeated by Liebknecht at Halle in 1890: see G. Adler, *The Evolution of the Socialist Programme in Germany (1863–90)*, in The Economic Journal, Dec., 1891, p. 706, who says "the point is only a verbal dispute." Hillquit admits there must be coercion under the socialist administration, and therefore comes to the wise conclusion that there will be a "Socialist State," *op. cit.*, 100.— All this had previously been suggested by a liberal, E. Baur, who said "in a republic there is no government, but only an executive power"; according to Max Stirner, *Der Einzige und sein Eigentum*, 265.

and the old and the crippled will have to work for his living, and all draw their wages, or rather (so it is hoped) salaries, or their pensions, from the public owner. There are no banks or brokerage exchanges; and new enterprises would be financed by the public owner, who would withhold some labour from production for revenue and apply it to the production of capital. Nor are there any insurance companies, as the state itself is to be nothing but "a general insurance company."[7] The central management (whatever or wherever it be) would issue all the money, which would be given to labourers and pensioners and be received for goods. It, the representative of the people, would be the sole employer, and it would give employment or support to all the people equally. There would be no difference of interests, as now, between employers and employés or between rival industrialists,—there would be no political parties, and for instance no "liquor interest" interfering with legislation, since no one would much care what industry he was engaged in, and the question of temperance or prohibition could be settled on its merits. Nor would there be any dissension about free trade or protection, since foreign trade would be a transaction between the state as a whole and others as wholes, each state as sole owner of all capital being the first owner of all products. Individuals would own property only as the common products are distributed to them for consumption, and this distribution would aim at equality. Here is where would arise the great contrast with the present world, that for which the change is chiefly desired. The incomes of all men and women, consisting of their salaries or their allowances in youth or their old-age or sick pensions, would be about the same. The president of the United States would have little or no more than his cook or coachman; the captain of an ocean-liner little or no more than a steward or stoker; the manager of an industry little or no more than the hand-labourer who tends the machines or the charwoman who scrubs the floors and washes the window-panes. Babies and young children may be given considerably less, because their needs are less; but the infirm and the aged will receive nearly if not quite as much as the workers, as long as their sensibility is unimpaired. All the able-bodied adults will be required to work equally, or nearly so.

This stupendous change means the end of competition. Competition, according to the socialists, is the bane of the present arrangement of things. It, say they, is the cause of the depression and misery of the many and of the exaltation and exultation

7 Gronlund, *op. cit.*, 113; similarly Liebnecht, *Was die Sozialdemokraten sind und was sie wollen*, 1891, p. 18.

of the few; whereas all ought to be equally fortunate or unfortunate. Outsiders hold that competition is only the means by which natural differences effectuate themselves in social differences, and if they do so unduly or perversely, this artificial inequality needs correction, but not that which is owing to nature's arrangement. There can be no doubt that nature does make inequality; and socialism, instead of trying to rectify our disregard by enhancement of that inequality, in trying to disregard by nullifying that inequality, seeks to reform nature itself; which we may be sure nature will not permit; wherefore socialism will never be practicable.

The abolition of competition, by which worth may make its way in the world, though it is the boast of the socialists, is the very worst feature of their system, violative of nature's law for the improvement of the race. Try as they will, we may be sure they will never succeed in bringing it into complete and lasting execution. But let us suppose that they do succeed in getting it in working order for a while: let us examine what will be the consequences.

In a socialist state the young are supported because they will work, the old because they have worked, and the sickly and incapacitated because they cannot work through a natural infliction, for which they are not to blame. Incidentally it may be remarked that perfect equality of treatment cannot be attained, because children who die before reaching the age of work make no return for what they have received, and workers who die near the end of their period do not get back all that they have contributed, while those who live to extreme old age may get back more than they contributed, and more, as is evident, than those who die younger. All, however, may be willing to take their chance at this remnant of life's lottery. Especially the weak and those who are likely to die early, will be willing to take this chance; for they are to retain all their present privileges of being taken care of and are to acquire the additional right of taking part in directing how they are to be taken care of. Also the lazy will approve, because they will be resolved to keep their present privileges of laziness with the additional right of sharing in the produce of those who are diligent. And it should be remarked that though idleness is more common among the rich under present conditions, laziness is pretty equally disseminated among all classes of mankind, if indeed it is not more common in the lower classes, many of whom are down simply because they lack energy — they and their ancestors before them, from whom they have inherited the character.

The last cause of continued inequality is what concerns us most. There are able-bodied persons who will refuse to do their share of the work. That any one should refuse to do any work at all, is hardly likely; and if it should happen, socialism would simply leave him out, excommunicate him, let him go away or starve, unless he gives in and pleads to be allowed to take his part.[8] This is not the evil to be feared. The evil to be feared is that many will pretend to work and yet work slothfully,— and there are innumerable degrees not only of natural incompetency but of lack of diligence. What is to be done with these? Gross carelessness and flagrant shirking may be punished by putting on a shortened allowance or shutting up in a workhouse. But how about ordinary listlessness or mere plodding, become general? To prevent that, nothing can be done, except to introduce distinctions of reward; but this means the restoration of inequality. As long as equality is maintained, want of energy will be common. Human nature is such that most persons will be content to be ordinary sailors, ordinary train-hands, ordinary machinists, ordinary workmen of every sort, if their recompense is to be no greater for applying themselves to acquire skill and knowledge and for devotion to their work. Not only the minor positions will be filled with indifferent workers, but what is still worse, it will be almost impossible to find persons who have fitted themselves for the higher positions. If the distribution of the common produce be absolutely equal to all, so that incomes are exactly the same whatever the position one occupies and whatever the quality of the work one performs, there is certainty that the labour of production will be badly guided and badly rendered, and that production will fall off and poverty increase.

Yet this absolute equality of distribution is the demand of some socialists, perhaps most insistently made by Proudhon; but of late, in its extreme form, it is mostly confined to dilettanti like Bernard Shaw, while others allege merely that, in the words of Spargo, "approximate equality of income is the ideal to be ultimately aimed at."[9] In the case of the most disagreeable kinds of work, instead of increasing the pay, as had been recommended by Fourier, or rewarding with higher honours, as seems to be suggested by Karl Pearson,[10] Bellamy would achieve an equalising

8 Pearson: "'You must either be working for the community, or leave it,' is the ultimatum of the socialistic moral code to each and all," *Ethic of Freethought*, 309–10, *cf.* 311, 416; Kirkup, *Inquiry*, 81, 149–50; Bellamy, *Equality*, 41, 409. They are fond of quoting *II. Thessalonians*, III. 10: *e.g.*, George, *Works*, ii. 33; Spargo, *Socialism*, 386. According to Bebel, *Die Frau*, 267, their formula is: No work without enjoyment, and no enjoyment without work.

9 *Socialism*, 313.

10 For he declares it possible to assert that "the more irksome forms of labour are the more honourable, because they involve the greater personal sacrifice for the

inequality at the other end by diminishing the amount of such work prescribed, so that from miners and scavengers less labour would be required than from drivers and agriculturists.[11] But Bellamy, too, saw little difficulty about the quality of the labour that would be performed in the various labour-times of the different occupations. He relied on a system of rewards by honouring those who work best and most beneficially;[12] though it is not easy to see why for a gift of nature they deserve more of an immaterial than of a material reward, and though it seems to be overlooked that hitherto one of the reasons rendering honours effective as rewards is that they increase, or better secure, the recipient's means of subsistence. Kautsky returns to Fourier's position, empiricising it; for he would reduce wages in occupations that are too much sought after and raise them in those that are shunned;[13] but in that case a similar inducement of higher wages for the more arduous labours of the higher positions, would also be in order. Some of the extravagant socialists, beginning with Babeuf, going through Louis Blanc, and ending with the anarchists Bakunin and Kropotkin, and including even Marx himself in his view of the ultimate goal, as also the Gotha programme soon abandoned, and many others, would have the distribution made according to needs.[14] This would be much worse, as the most remiss labourers are usually the most needy, and the less time one devotes to working and producing, the more time one has for playing and consuming. Others, from Saint-Simon to Rodbertus and Lassalle, better inspired, have recommended the formula: From all according to their ability, to all according to their work; which means that everybody should receive in proportion to his contribution.[15] They are, however, unable to tell how the value of differ-

need of society," *op. cit.*, 340. But his position is that "all labour is equally honourable," 339, 340, "and therefore deserving of equal wage," 341, and similarly 342, 350.

11 *Looking Backward*, ch. vii; followed by Sprague, *Socialism from Genesis to Revelation*, 376; Vail, *Modern Socialism*, 141; Spargo, *Socialism*, 311–12.

12 Ch. ix. His principle is that "all who do their best, do the same," and "are equally deserving," 92, 129; but some "special incentives" "are requisite to call out the best endeavours of the average man," 93. Such a system of honours was a feature in Cabet's *Icarie*. It had also appeared in the theorising of Restif de la Bretonne, who prescribed that the honours should not be hereditary, according to Bouctot, *Histoire du Communisme et du Socialisme*, i. 6.

13 He is followed also by Spargo, who gives more references, *Socialism*, 315–16.

14 *E.g.*, E. Belfort Bax and William Morris in Note C. to their edition of *The Manifesto of the Socialist League*, London, 1885: "The end which true socialism sets before us is the realisation of absolute equality of condition helped by the development of variety of capacity, according to the motto, *from* each one according to his capacity, *to* each according to his needs," p. 10. Also Hillquit says this "old communistic motto" generally appears to the socialists "as the ideal rule of distribution" quite likely to be adopted in time, *op. cit.*, 117. The original, of course, is *Acts*, II, 45 or IV, 35.

15 So also Pearson, who asserts that "the reward of any individual is to depend on the quality and quantity of the labor which he has contributed to the common stock," *op. cit.*, 324, similarly 305, 314, 328, 343. According to Gronlund everybody's

ent kinds of labour is to be measured. Since Proudhon and Marx it is usual to say that the value of products is according to the time spent in producing them. This only brings the matter back to the original point, requiring that all who labour the same hours a day, as they produce the same value, shall receive the same pay.[16] Nor is it possible to set up a standard of comparison for different kinds of labour. Some approximation to a correct measurement might be made in the case of mere hand-workers; but between these and the head-workers, who guide and direct them, it is impossible to determine the relative contributions with any degree of exactness,—and socialists, while standing up in defence of the hands, are inclined to underrate the superiority of heads. A serious effort to prevent the slothfulness that would ensue upon granting to everybody the same income, by varying the income with an idea not only to penalise slackness in a given position, but to reward the greater capacity required in the higher positions, must be a tentative one, depending on experience of the results.[17] Socialists seem to think that very small rewards, making but a small inroad into the principle of equality, will be sufficient.[18] But they have no data to guide them, and they cannot prove but that, as seems probable to outsiders, a great deal of difference in incomes, or a system of considerable rewards and penalties, will be found to be necessary before accomplishing the desired effect. In that case, this system of adapted and regulated inequality might be more easily and safely reached by amending the present system of unregulated, haphazard, and often perverted irregularity, than by going through a trial of socialism that might ruin civilisation before attaining the proper dispositions.

consumption will be "exactly commensurate with his performances," *Co-operative Commonwealth,* 110, *cf.* 119, 121; and he takes Bellamy to task for admitting equal wages, which he calls "decidedly unsocialistic," 158n., so also in *The New Economy,* 47, 48; while the doctrine of distribution according to needs he ascribes to communism, in distinction from socialism, the motto of which is "to everybody according to his deeds," *Co-operative Commonwealth,* 110. Yet he seems to expect the equalisation of wages in the different occupations eventually, 161. Also Spargo seems to vibrate between the two. In his *Socialism* he says "the essence of socialism" is "equality of opportunity," 316; and in his last work, *Socialism and Motherhood,* he repeats that "the alpha and omega of socialism" is "equalisation of opportunity," 39, and asserts that the workers are to receive "according to their labour," 112. Yet again he here says that "all our resources and our skill and might would be combined to meet the needs of every human being," and speaks of "all sharing" in the advantages and disadvantages, 44–5.

16 Hence Schäffle in his *Quintessence of Socialism* is unable to decide whether the essence of socialism requires distribution to be according to the work done by each or according to the labour-time expended by each; *cf.* pp. 8, 24, 39, 52, 53, with pp. 10, 18, 46, of the Humboldt ed. of Bosanquet's translation.

17 Gronlund even wrote: "Society is not bound to reward a man either in proportion to his services, nor yet to his wants, but according to expediency; according to the behest of her own welfare," *Co-operative Commonwealth,* 160; for he held that "to that end [the general welfare] the state may do anything whatsoever which is shown to be expedient," 83; similarly *The New Economy,* 144.

18 *Cf.* Gronlund himself, *Co-operative Commonwealth,* 159–60.

The socialists, from the time of More, who led the way,[19] reply that at present there is great lack and waste of productivity. Not only there are rich persons who pass their lives in idleness, poor persons who live by depredation, and would-be workers who cannot find employment, not to omit soldiers and sailors of the navy whose only function is to fight, but there is useless multiplication of small enterprises, working inefficiently, often but half occupied, spoiling the goods through inability to find a vent, dissipating effort on drumming and advertising. Under their system everything will be regulated by public officials, directing production and distribution not for their own benefit but in the general interest, and themselves guided by a complete collection of statistics.[20] Every industry will be consolidated into large establishments, working most economically, at the most suitable locations, their numbers being adapted to the demand for their products, which, being stored in large magazines, with samples only in the shops, will be delivered upon order to the consumers. Our present "trusts" are pointed to as introducing many such economies, and it is expected that the socialist state will carry them still further. The idea is that these collective economies will be so great that they will far overbalance any shirking of work on the part of individuals. Indeed, so high are the hopes for an immense increase of produce,[21] it is intended that part of the benefit shall be taken in reduced labour. Thomas More represented his Utopians as working only nine hours a day.[22] At present the general demand is for eight hours of labour (in a scheme with eight hours of sleep and eight hours of recreation). Some look forward to an eventual reduction to six and even to four hours a day, without loss, but on the contrary with immense increase of production.[23] There is also another way of taking rest. People will begin later

19 *Utopia*, Arber's reprint of Robinson's translation, pp. 85–6.

20 On the important rôle to be played by statistics, see Bebel, *Die Frau*, 269–70.

21 Bellamy estimates it at $4000 to every adult person *per annum*, *Equality*, 29, with many extras thrown in, 31. He is followed by F. Parsons, *The Philosophy of Mutualism*, 6, who, however, confines it to workers, and in this is followed by Vail, *Modern Socialism*, 131, who adds that "socialism would entirely abolish poverty," 84.

22 *Op. cit.*, 83–4; on p. 85 he even considers six hours sufficient.

23 Campanella placed it at four hours; Restif de la Bretonne at six; Gronlund again at four to six, *op. cit.*, 120, also Olive M. Johnson, *Woman and the Socialist Movement*, New York, 1908, p. 47; Spargo at six, and in some trades as low as three, *Socialism*, 311–12. *The Manifesto of the Socialist League:* "The amount of labour necessary for any individual to perform in order to carry on the essential work of the world will be reduced to something like two or three hours daily; so that every one will have abundant leisure for following intellectual or other pursuits congenial to his nature," p. 6. Bebel expects a great reduction, *Die Frau*, 279, and accepts Hertzka's calculation that all the present products of Austria could be produced by all the men working 2½ hours every week day, 275–6. Under socialism this may be reduced to two hours, and abundance for all will be procured by all working three hours a day, and four will be the limit, 286. But these were all surpassed by Godwin, who conceived that half an hour a day of work by everybody was enough to supply all the necessaries, and he wanted little more, *Political Justice*, Book VIII., ch. vi. and vii.

in youth to engage in industry, and will cease earlier in age. Bellamy allowed only twenty-four years of industrial service, from the twenty-first to the forty-fifth year.[24] Johann Most promised his workingmen audiences that they would have to work only ten years, from eighteen to twenty-eight.[25] The greater part of one's life is to be spent in leisure, and work itself, which to the socialist is an evil, to be minimised to the utmost,[26] is to be made pleasant and attractive,[27] and to be little else than play, to which especially the education of children will be assimilated.[28] The world is not to be a workhouse any longer, but a playground.[29]

The denunciation of the present wasteful conditions, bad as they are in reality, is considerably exaggerated. The idle rich may be a considerable proportion of the uppermost class, especially among the women; but in the whole population they are probably not one *per cent.* of the men, or three *per cent.* of the women. The extremest among the socialists are apt to treat all receivers of interest, profit, and rent, as idlers, overlooking that what is received in these ways is generally but a portion of the income of the well-to-do classes. They ignore the work of superintendence done by these classes, counting as labour only that which is done by the hands of so-called "labourers" or "working people." The gain, therefore, that would accrue from putting to work the really idle, would be very small; while if many of those who now work with their heads were put to hand-labour, there would be positive loss. At the other end, the idle depredators from among the poor — the criminal class — are likewise probably not more than one *per cent.* male and a third of one *per cent.* female; and though they keep others from productive labour by the need of police duty, yet the gain derivable from putting all these to work would not be considerable. To dispense with an army and navy may perhaps lead to dispensing with socialism itself through the undoing of the countries that pursue so foolish a course; and in our country at least the gain would be infinitesimally small, even if no danger were incurred. The question of unemployment

24 *Looking Backward,* 64, and the women who are mothers still less, 256; on the economies see ch. xxii. So also R. Tressall in his *The Ragged-trousered Philanthropists,* 334–5. According to him, too, "socialism is a plan by which poverty will be enabled to live in plenty and comfort, with leisure and opportunity for ampler life," 303.

25 According to Woolsey, *Socialism and Communism,* 22.

26 So Bax, who adds: "The man who works at his trade, or accumulates more than necessity compels him, is not a hero, but a fool, from the socialist's standpoint," *The Religion of Socialism,* 94.

27 Hillquit, *op. cit.,* 129.

28 So Bebel, *Die Frau,* 271, 282, 324.

29 And Bellamy found reasonable the clamour of the degenerate populace of Rome for "panem et circenses," *Looking Backward,* 198.

is more serious. Socialism may no doubt give employment to all, but whether it will get effective labour from all, is problematical. Many of the unemployed are innately slothful, as are most of the depredatory class; and these will never give honest labour. Moreover, if they are raised to as good a living as everybody else, they will probably live longer and beget their kind more abundantly than they do now. There will be survival of the unfit as well as of the fit. This is the great evil of giving up competition and the struggle for existence. In the world as hitherto and at present constituted there is unquestionably great waste from those working with their heads who ought to be working with their hands, and from those working with their hands who ought to be working with their heads; and perhaps, owing to the greater attractiveness of the labour of the head, there are more head-workers in proportion to the hand-workers than would be necessary in a more perfected system. There is much room for reform and improvement. If under socialism more respect be paid to hand-labour, there will be some gain; but the loss may be greater if too little respect be paid to head-labour. And as the promise is to reduce both, and as the principal incentive to work now operative is purposely removed, the prospect is that, while some of the present causes of waste may be corrected, inefficiency will be much greater, and will grow continually. On the one hand the boasted increase of production is very doubtful, and on the other it is pretty certain that the decrease of the hours of labour will be taken, which will augment the likelihood of waning production and increasing poverty.

The socialists rejoin that human nature as now manifested, needing the spur of want, is a product of past and present economic conditions. For, say they, it is economic conditions that produce character: change economic conditions, and you change character.[30] Therefore the new economic conditions introduced by socialism, when all will be treated as equals, to none being allowed more consumption than to others, and from none being exacted more production than from others, will so improve human nature that all will work diligently, and apply themselves to study and to healthful recreation in their leisure hours, and nobody will try to get the better of others either by taking more or by giving less than everybody else, or at least by taking more than he needs or giving less than he is able; and when

30 "The ethics of socialism," says Bax, "seeks not the ideal of society through the ideal individual, but conversely the ideal individual through the ideal society," *The Ethics of Socialism*, 19.

all strive equally to do their best, they are all equally deserving, though their best be different. That none will fail to do his best, much reliance is placed on the fact that everybody will have an interest to keep every one "up to the mark," as the expression runs. Yet the mark can be only a general norm for all, as it is impossible for every one to know each one's capacity. Also it is overlooked that every one will likewise have an interest to keep every one else from overshooting the mark, so that none may be shamed by the super-excellence of another.[31] It is, however, expected that in time the ability of all will become uniform, and this uniformity is placed, not at the low average of present achievement, below which in all probability it would fall, but on a plane much superior and nearer to perfection. This is a thought which since Godwin [32] and Owen and the earlier French believers in the omnipotence of reason and the perfectibility of man, underlies much of the hopefulness of the socialists. It has, perhaps, been most grossly expressed by Bebel. He holds that "moral preaching, ever relied upon by the ruling classes, has helped but little and to all eternity will accomplish nothing." [33] He accepts the doctrine that "the forms of government and

31 There are further difficulties. The argument is that at present, on any job, it is not to the interest of any labourer to see to it that his co-labourers work up to the mark, in fact that if any one shirks his work, it is a gain, since more is left for the rest to do and to be paid for; but under socialism every labourer will have an interest to watch out that his companions be not remiss, since that will diminish the total product in which every one shares: so Bellamy, *Equality*, 389. This incentive might be effectual, if the workers on every job, in every factory, received back compensation only for what they themselves all together produced, as in a single co-operative establishment competing with others, whence the idea is taken. But the collectivism of present-day socialism is much wider, and offers little chance for such mutual supervision. There are many schemes, as we shall see, but the most generally accepted, and itself the most general, is that all the products of a country, community, or industry, are to be thrown into one mass and distributed to all the inhabitants. All the workers in one establishment may be remiss with very little effect on the total production of the whole. Knowing this, all the workers in any one establishment may be as careless under socialism as now any one individual workman is apt to be. And as foremen are now needed to keep individual workmen up to the mark — often ineffectually; so, under socialism, some kind of supervision will be necessary over every establishment to see that its workers all together do their share of the country's work,— and they may be equally, if not still more, ineffectual. If the foremen were elected (as suggested by Babeuf and Louis Blanc, according to Sudre, *Histoire du Communisme*, 354, 347, and by Bebel, *Die Frau*, 271, and Gronlund, *Co-operative Commonwealth*, 194) by the workers themselves, in each establishment or industry by its workers, they would have to act as the workers directed, and nothing would be gained. For co-ordination with other establishments or industries, the foremen would have to be appointed from above,— if not as now by owners competing with one another, then by the representative owner of all the establishments. (Bellamy, who criticises the former scheme, *Equality*, 350–1, suggests that the appointments are to be made by the retired functionaries, like college elections by the *alumni*, *Looking Backward*, ch. xvii; in which he was preceded by Restif de la Bretonne, according to Bouctot, *loc. cit.*) If these kept the workers faithfully to their tasks, the workers would gain little in independence over their present condition. Or if they did gain anything, it would be in the direction of less carefulness and less production.

32 Note his statement: "Nothing can be more unreasonable than to argue from men as we now find them, to men as they may hereafter be made," *Political Justice*, V. xiv.

33 *Die Frau*, 369n. This is said to be Tolstoi's error, 284.

the character and peculiarities of individuals as well as of classes and of whole peoples, depend principally on the material conditions of their existence, and so on the social and economic relations in which they live;" whence he concludes, as following with necessity, that "with improvement of their conditions of living, men will themselves be improved;" which he ascribes as a "discovery" to Marx, and in a strange fashion mixes up with Darwinism.[34] Yet it rests on the absolutely false assertion which he quotes from Helvetius, that "all ordinarily well-organised persons are born with a nearly equal understanding, which is made different by training, laws, and surroundings;" which he supplements by saying that, though they are born with different talents, all normal men have some talent, and every one under socialism will work at the occupation for which he is fitted; wherefore all difference between intelligence and stupidity, and between diligence and laziness, will cease to exist.[35]

Most of this is pure imagination. To say that human nature is the product of economic conditions, leaves us without a beginning. Economic conditions as they exist to-day can be explained only as a product of human nature re-acting on its environment. Human nature, along with the external nature in which it finds itself placed, is the datum, economic conditions the result. They, too, may re-act on human nature; but if we would affect human nature through them, we are choosing a roundabout, though to some extent often a necessary, course. The most effectual and final way to improve economic conditions is, on the contrary, first to improve human nature. This is the way all moralists have taken,— and great has been the gain. "Make men wise," said Godwin stoically, "and by that very operation you make them free."[36] It is the principle on which all systems of public education are based. Improved economic conditions of individuals, in some cases, improve their morals by removing old temptations; but, in others, they injure their morals by offering new temptations. The effects are mixed, and with difficulty calculable. Under socialism no doubt some persons will be improved; but others will deteriorate. There is likelihood even of greater deterioration than improvement. It is true that, if socialism be fully established, much of the old temptation to grab more than is one's due will be removed; which the socialists exaggerate into believing it will obliterate most crime.[37] But it is not true that it will not be replaced by the new temptation to

34 196.
35 288–9 and note.
36 *Political Justice*, IV, i.
37 *E.g.*, Hillquit, *Socialism in Theory and Practice*, 64, 87.

give less than one owes. This will be the besetting temptation, as great as is the other under the present régime. Now the old temptations inspire at least to activity, which is a great point gained, although it may be, in some cases, of the predatory kind. But the new temptations will inspire to quietude, which in the end may be more harmful, although it immediately hurts no one in particular. That human nature is spurred on to diligence by want (and by artificial wants, many of which will be suppressed under socialism), is at least a fact of experience; and though we know also that without this spur some are diligent, we have good reason to believe many, if not most, are inert. Socialism offers us a pleasant dream in exchange for an unpleasant reality, but still a dream on which it will not be safe as yet to rely.

The attractiveness of socialism resides in its promises, not in its likelihood of performance. It pictures to us a state of equality, in which all live on a high plane of prosperity. The realisation can hardly be of a plane higher than the average is at present. But the average income at present is low. Bellamy himself admits that in our rich country it does not amount to over three or four hundred dollars a year *per* head, "not very much more than enough to supply the necessities of life."[38] This estimate may even be too high. In other countries, except England, it is still lower. In Prussia it was calculated only fifteen years ago as low as seventy-five dollars,[39] which is incredibly small and must be below the truth. If socialism were introduced suddenly, the confusion at first ensuing would certainly pull down these averages, and they would with difficulty be restored. If it were introduced gradually, it all depends on whether the promised economies will exceed the promised diminution of the hours of labour and the probable increase of slothfulness. The risk appears great, and all the experience already possessed that bears on the question tends toward the probability that, instead of raising the average income, socialism will lower it. It will then reduce the whole population of the countries that adopt it to the condition of boors.[40] Thus, instead of in-

38 *Looking Backward*, 226.

39 According to Richter, *Die Irrlehren der Sozialdemokratie*, 16.

40 The early socialists even accepted this fate, and thereby showed themselves more consistent with nature. "A people," wrote Godwin, "among whom equality reigned, would possess everything they wanted, when they possessed the means of subsistence," *Political Justice*, V. xvi. Further Babeuf: "Should we have need of the *eclat* of the arts and the *clinquant* of luxury, if we had the happiness of living under the laws of equality?" (quoted by Sudre, *op. cit.*, 356). Restif de la Bretonne would have left only the arts of music and the dance (according to Bouctot, *loc. cit.*). As Max Stirner pointed out, we shall all be "equal ragamuffins"—"gleiche Lumpe," *Der Einzige und sein Eigentum*, 138–42.

augurating a new era of true civilisation, it will bring the only civilisation we have to an untimely close.

It will bring our civilisation to its close, on the supposition that it is adopted everywhere in civilised countries; for it certainly will not be adopted elsewhere. The barbarians will then again subdue the degenerates of civilisation. But there is little likelihood that, if adopted at all, it will be adopted by all the civilised peoples; and if socialists think they must in any one country wait till it is adopted by all others, this is a confession of weakness. Those, then, who do adopt it, will fall behind in competition with those who do not,— with those who keep up competition within their own ranks, who are strengthened by intestine struggles and thereby fortified for the struggle with others. The races that have been noted for their conquests of others, have been noted also for their civil discords: witness the Romans in antiquity and the Anglo-Saxons in modern times. This is Darwinism, and against it some socialists have quoted Darwin. Thus Mr. Spargo, one of the principal present-day apologists of socialism, quotes Darwin as follows: "Those communities, which included the greatest number of the most sympathetic members, would flourish best;" [41] and he comments that Darwin here "shows how, in many animal societies, the *struggle* for existence is replaced by *co-operation* for existence." [42] Darwin nowhere shows any such *replacement:* he shows only *supplementation.* The passage quoted is a brief anticipation of Darwin's full view, which is thus expressed: "A tribe including many members who, from possessing in a high degree the spirit of patriotism, fidelity, obedience, courage, and sympathy, were always ready to aid one another, and to sacrifice themselves for the common good, would be victorious over most other tribes; and this would be natural selection." [43] "Morality," by which co-operation seems to be meant, he in the same passage speaks of as "one important element in their success." Co-operation is, as has always in this work been emphasised, an essential element in the success of all peoples that attain civilisation. But it is not the sole element. It supplements, and must be supplemented by, struggle. Every one knows that in warfare the fighters on a side must co-operate. Fellow tribesmen must have a fellow feeling for one another, that is, sympathy, if they are to win in their struggles with their enemies. The same within civilised nations; and in them it is called patriotism — a sentiment which, as we

41 *The Descent of Man,* Appleton's ed., 107.
42 *Socialism,* 98.
43 *The Descent of Man,* 132; *cf.* 130.

shall see, socialists decry, and one which in any one country without competition and struggle with other races or nations is apt to die out. Socialism has the defect of one-sidedness. In concentrating upon co-operation and getting rid of competition within a nation, it unfits that nation for the struggle with others; and to get rid of this difficulty socialists pursue the trick of the ostrich which hides its head in the sand, and shut their eyes to any struggle with other nations by supposing that all nations will adopt it, or that other nations will let the socialist nations alone.

Another socialist, Kirkup, however, keeps his eyes open, but hardly tells us correctly what he sees. "There can be no doubt," he says, "that in the struggle among nations which at least in the immediate future is likely to become more intense than formerly, the people that first brings its social organisation into harmony with the new conditions will have an immense advantage. The country that can first raise its working population to an intelligent and enthusiastic solidarity of feeling and interest, a compact nation of free instructed men, would in the scientific warfare of to-day have an exceptionally strong position against a government of capitalists dragging after them an unwilling, demoralised, and ignorant host of proletarians. It would have all the enthusiasm of the armies of France during the first revolution, joined to the more perfect technique of the present day. If socialism is the form of economic organisation best fitted to produce such results, it would have to be adopted. In a time of highly organised societies," he adds,—and it is true in the time of any organised societies,—"it is the fittest type of organisation that must prevail." [44] It is the type fittest to prevail that will prevail, and not the type perhaps fittest for some other purpose. Nothing that Kirkup or any other socialist says, shows that socialism produces, or so much as aims at producing, this type. Socialism may, conceivably, produce an enthusiasm of solidarity in the working people who have appropriated all the land and capital of a nation; but if this seizure of other people's property against their will leads to events like the wars of the French revolution, it will lead to the production of leaders and the consolidation of new ranks, and end in an empire with a parvenu court. Only without war can socialism be carried through, only by disbanding the army and navy with their gradations, only by the continuance of the friendly operations of peace and industry. After a few generations of such quietude, having sunk into inefficiency and poverty, if a socialised state were attacked for the

44 *Inquiry into Socialism*, 103.

sake of its territory, it would succumb almost without a blow.[45] Or if it can defend itself, its system will soon cease to be socialism, at least of the idyllic type so pleasantly pictured to our imagination.

45 Socialism as meant by the socialists is here under consideration. State-socialism is something else. So far as this has been adopted in Germany, it has in the present war shown superiority over the English *laissez-faireism;* and if Kirkup had had it in mind, late events would have borne out his statement.

CHAPTER III.

SOCIALISM AND THE FAMILY

THE weakening process will be hastened in another way, by the influence of socialism on the family. Women are, in some of the theories at least, to have the same income derived from the public owner, whatever be their work, with the men,[1] while, according to others, their retribution will be in proportion to their contribution;[2] but the tendency of almost all socialists is to regard their contribution, especially in view of their function of child-bearing, as clearly equivalent to that of men, and some even believe that in time, under the more equal conditions provided by socialism, just as men are to become equal to one another, so women will become equal to men in bodily strength and industrial efficiency.[3] This is part and parcel of the general policy of equality and liberty. Not only the present wage-earning men are to become independent of other men as their employers, but all women are to be rendered independent of men as their masters.[4] Only children and imbeciles are to be left in any sort of tutelage, wardship, service, or dependence. Consequently there will be no more subordination of the wife to the husband; there will be no one head in a family, and every dissension that is more than slightly serious will have one termination — separation. Marriage, being of equals, will be mere friendly partnerships for sexual enjoyment, and will be terminable at the pleasure of either party. Socialists advance varying opinions on this subject; but the one great fact stands forth that women, in spite of their mental and bodily inferiority, are to be as independent as men, and hence it will necessarily follow that not only the wife will not look up to the husband for their common status in the world, but the husband

1 So especially Bellamy, *Looking Backward*, ch. xxv. They will, of course, share in the ownership of all property. "Woman," says Olive M. Johnson, "will be economically as free as man. She is part of society, and society will own the economic powers collectively," *Women and the Socialist Movement*, p. 48.

2 Gronlund, *op. cit.*, 222.

3 *E.g.*, Bebel, *Die Frau*, 195; Bellamy, *Equality*, 150. In the latter this is evidently an afterthought, as in *Looking Backward*, 256–7, he acknowledged that women are "inferior in strength to men, and further disqualified industrially in special ways," and adapted labour to their weakness most conveniently, reserving for them "the lighter occupations," and granting them shorter hours and more frequent vacations.

4 *Cf.* Bebel, 7, 174–6; for whatever is right for workers, cannot be wrong for women, 213; Gronlund, 226; Bellamy, *Looking Backward*, 267, *Equality*, 132–4.

will have no responsibility for his wife, and neither will feel any duty toward the other except the good will of friends while they remain friends. More will be said about this condition of things in the section devoted to the woman movement, which tends in the same direction, with or without full socialism. Here be it noted, that socialism or communism of property has almost always in fact, and with consistency has always been, because it necessarily is, connected with socialism or communism of women.[5]

Under socialism children will be provided for by the public owner of all property. Children, in fact, it is commonly said, "do not belong to their parents, they belong to society."[6] This bond of union within the married couples will also be broken, or at most held fast but a short time. In some socialist theories the parents are permitted to rear their children; in others not, but this charge is taken over by the state; while again in others it is optional on the part of the parents, or they may do so for a certain number of years, after which the state takes a hand. What the regulation will be if ever any nation actually adopts socialism, cannot be known, as this is one of the details upon which socialists themselves have not come to agreement. Therefore it is impossible to foretell exactly what the influence of socialism will be upon the numbers of the people. But some speculations are admissible, which may be based on what is common to almost all socialists, namely that, because of state aid or the state's assumption of all duties, the father shall have no obligation to provide either for the mother while she is bearing and suckling the child, or for the child during infancy and youth, and the mother, too, as is the case with other mammalia, need have no concern for her offspring after its weaning — and, thanks to the bottle, even before, she becoming by its help half way assimilated to an oviparous animal.

Among the early opponents of socialism, Malthus, amplifying the now forgotten Wallace, advanced a criticism which is still entertained. He believed that "the system of equality" (for

5 *Cf.* Lamartine, *Histoire de la Revolution de 1848*, II, xii. So the American communist J. H. Noyes, in his *Bible Communism* (ch. II, prop. 8) published in 1848 at the founding of the Oneida Community, laid down as a tenet in its Social Theory: "We affirm that there is no intrinsic difference between property in persons and property in things; and that the same spirit which abolishes exclusiveness in regard to money, would abolish, if circumstances allowed full scope to it, exclusiveness in regard to women and children," (reprinted in his *History of American Socialisms*, Philadelphia, 1870, p. 625). He rested upon *Acts*. II, 44 and IV, 32: "they had all things common"; for women and children come under "all things." Accordingly at Oneida, where "complex marriage" was instituted (and the term "free love" originated, *ib.* 638), whenever a married couple showed signs of becoming permanently attached to each other, they were separated and made to unite with others: see Nordhoff's *Communistic Societies of the United States*, New York, 1875, pp. 276–7, 292–3.

6 So Gronlund, *op. cit.*, 246; likewise Lycurgus, according to Plutarch in his *Life* of that legislator.

its present name was not then invented) would loosen the check to population, which would immediately increase with unusual rapidity and very soon outstrip the means of subsistence, reducing all to misery.[7] The great defect of Malthus's own teaching was that he did not make a complete analysis of the possible checks that prevent overpopulation. He divided them into two great kinds, the preventive and the positive,[8] and again into three classes — of moral restraint, vice, and misery;[9] of which the first prevents undue births, the last hastens needed deaths, and the second does both. But under moral restraint he referred only to the refraining from marriage until one was able to support all the children likely to come, which he reckoned at six; for he demanded chastity before marriage, and did not demand continence after.[10] Being a moralising clergyman, steeped in middle-class English puritanism, he looked upon all other possible restraints or preventives as immoral or vicious,[11] and to them he paid little attention. Incidentally, however, throughout his work he lighted upon other checks, which he neglected to classify. One great check, not only to overpopulation, but to population itself, thus by him cursorily alluded to, though not brought into its proper prominence, may be called the social check, or the check of prosperity and luxury. The richer become a class or a people, as we already in this work have had abundant occasion to observe, the less likely are they to rejoice in children, who cease to be a need and become a superfluity. The begetting and rearing of offspring, we have seen, was one of only three original or natural sources of pleasure, and as civilisation introduces and multiplies other amusements, it leads away from this one, just as it leads away from hunting and warring. Not only did Malthus notice this tendency of civilisation,[12] and too the destructive effect of large cities;[13] but also so did his critics from his own class. Thus Alison wrote: "If it were possible to diffuse property or industry universally among the poor, and spread the habits requisite to preserve them, the danger of undue increase of population would be entirely obviated."[14] This, indeed,

7 Malthus, *Essay on Population*, 265, 274 (*cf.* 285); 276, 281, 183. Similarly Woolsey, *Communism and Socialism*, 181; Lecky, *Democracy and Liberty*, ii. 368; Cathrein and Gettelmann, *Socialism*, 334–6.

8 *Essay*, 7–8.

9 8, 13, 124, 260, 263, 389, 508, 514. Under misery belong war, pestilence, and famine. *Cf.* Tertullian above, i. 114. Also Hobbes: "When all the world is overcharged with inhabitants, then the last remedy of all is war; which provideth for every man, by victory, or death," *Leviathan*, ch. 30.

10 286, 396, 437, 472, 521; 7, 397–8, 403, 404, 414, 476, 477, 499; 474, *cf.* 7, 397, 499, and 474.

11 43n., 286, 316, 460, 396, 398, 512.

12 473, *cf.* 440; see also 504.

13 475.

14 *Principles of Population*, ii. 208–9.

is said on the supposition of private property and the need of each family to take care of itself, on which condition alone we have had experience of the phenomenon. The socialists, however, even of Malthus's day, cut away this condition, and still retained the conclusion, as was noticed by Malthus himself while defending his own position.[15]

But this position is still maintained by our present-day socialists, who, beside condemning Malthus,[16] lay weight upon this check, which they rename a law. For, as they claim that their system is going to raise the lower classes into the higher classes, they argue that the populace of the future will no more overburden themselves with children than do the patricians now.[17] One of them even says that " in the co-operative commonwealth there will rather be reason to fear that the population will tend to decrease than that it will ever be too rebundant; "[18]— and to such theorisers the fate of the Roman empire yields no warning. This, indeed, might be a correct inference, were the promise fulfilled. But we have seen the little likelihood of the promise being fulfiled; for considerable wealth must be had before this effect begins. On the contrary, the upper classes will be reduced nearly to the level of our lower classes; wherefore the tendency may be toward increase of prolificness, while the communal support of everybody, though in humble circumstances, will certainly lead to the bringing up to maturity of a great many more children, and among them the weak and the sickly. The very bottommost of the lower classes now, who simply cannot bear children, will then be able to do so, and will probably take extensive advantage of the opportunity. Moreover, as marriages will be easily broken as well as easily contracted, marriages will be more common, and

15 285.

16 *E.g.*, George, *Progress and Poverty*, Book II.; Bebel, *Die Frau*, 363–4, 366, 370–1; who, also, expanding Marx's cursory and wholly unproved observation that " every special historic mode of production has its own laws of population," *Capital*, i. 693 (Kerr's ed., Chicago, 1906), asseverated that the Malthusian doctrine obtains only under capitalism, and not under socialism, *Die Frau*, 359, *cf.* 373. Malthus himself remarked of the predecessors of our socialists, citing Condorcet, that they ignored or were contemptuous of the principle of population, or placed its operation in a far distant future, *Essay*, 263, 265–6. So to-day, for instance, Hillquit in his *Socialism in Theory and Practice* nowhere mentions Malthus, yet on p. 117 he makes an assertion about the superabundance of produce in the future, which is absolutely defeated by Malthusianism. Bebel, it may be added, says every child will be welcome, *Die Frau*, 322–3, quite in the spirit of the poet Ch. Mackay, who sang: —

" There's a good time coming, boys,
A good time coming;
And a poor man's family
Shall not be his misery
In the good time coming."

17 Bebel, *Die Frau*, 372–6; Bellamy, *Equality*, end. Gronlund: " Fortunately . . . it is misery [only] that causes overpopulation," *Co-operative Commonwealth*, 139. *Cf.* Marx, *Capital*, iii. 256. Recently, A. R. Wallace, *Social Environment and Moral Progress*, 158, 162. *Cf.*, as to the principle, Lester F. Ward, *Pure Sociology*, 288.

18 Gronlund, *Op. cit.*, 138.

will be entered into earlier;[19] and marriages at least tend to the begetting and bearing of children, especially if there be no other scruple than the travail-pain of the wife to hinder, the husband having absolutely no reason for continence or carefulness. And yet, even so, early abortion is less incommoding than parturition, while the various methods of contraception, always a favourite with socialists, are still easier. Furthermore, easily contracted and easily broken marriages mean little else than free love; and free love is not conducive to prolificness, since couples do not care to have children if they anticipate separation. This, however, is a result observed under present conditions when the support of children is thrown upon the parents. When the support is taken over by the state, even free love may be prolific, although, again, there is a physiological tendency of promiscuity (when excessively indulged in) toward barrenness.[20] On the whole, therefore, it is almost impossible to foresee the result, we having too few data to judge by. It may happen that population will regulate itself in satisfactory numbers. And it may be that state regulation will be found necessary, to check either overpopulation or underpopulation.[20a] If things go wrong in these respects, it will certainly be the state's duty to try to restrain the evil, to which it will have the right because of its duty to provide for all the mouths.[21] It may be that its regulation will be effectual, and it may be that it will not. We cannot tell without experimenting.

We can, however, tell in advance that when the support of children, as also of wives, is taken over by the state, a great incentive to prudence and diligence will be removed. Under the old conditions a young man is spurred on to improve his earning capacity and to amass capital, that he may support a wife and children; and when he has them, he is still spurred on by the

19 "The irremediableness of marriage, as it is at present constituted," since it "undoubtedly deters many from entering into this state," is one of the checks incidentally alluded to by Malthus, *Essay*, 274; while for Gronlund one of the objects of socialism is to enable every one to marry, and to marry early, *op. cit.*, 226–7.

20 As noticed by Bebel, *Die Frau*, 375.

20a The small-scale experience of some American socialist communities points in this direction. At Bethel, says Nordhoff, "as their future is secure, the people marry young," *op. cit.*, 329. At Amana, to prevent too early marriage, an arbitrary rule forbids marriage before the age of twenty-five, 36; *cf.* 403.

21 *Cf.* Mill: "Every one has a right to live. We will suppose this granted. But no one has a right to bring creatures into life, to be supported by other people. Whoever means to stand upon the first of these rights must renounce all pretension to the last. . . . It would be possible for the state to guarantee employment at ample wages to all who are born. But if it does this, it is bound in self-protection . . . to provide that no person shall be born without its consent," *Political Economy*, II. xii. 2. This is approvingly quoted by Pearson, one of the few socialists who accept Malthusianism, in his *Ethic of Freethought*, 432n. To the same effect the opponent Ritchie, *Natural Rights*, 131; who specifies that the state must then choose its mothers, 133–4, 262.

desire to provide for them. It is true that at present these conditions are breaking down: women wish (at least some of them say so) to support themselves, and both they and men wish to spend what they earn on themselves. But much of the old spirit still remains, and it should be the policy of reformers to try to retain it, and to dampen the new spirit of evil that is threatening to undermine our civilisation, as a like spirit has done so many others,— at least to counteract it and ward it off as long as possible. But socialism opens its arms to it, draws it to its bosom, and thus cherishes its own destroyer. Under socialism there can be no such thing as the bequeathing of property (except little things like household effects) to one's wife and children. The abolition of this is desired as a sure improvement. Bequeathing perpetuates capitalism, handing on capital from generation to generation, and giving a chance for its gradual and steady accumulation. When a man through middle life makes his fortune and then in old age lives on it in retirement, few consider this unfair: it is precisely what the socialists wish all to do. But when he can leave his fortune to his descendants, and these can from youth up and forever live on it in idleness and plenty, this is considered unfair, and it is one of the things the socialists wish to cast out.[22] So prominent is it among their reforms, that some semi-socialists would be content if the right of bequest were taken away, or considerably diminished. Yet this right is one of the principal incentives to the maintenance of capital. Without it a man who has made his fortune in middle age, would try to consume the whole of it before the time he expects to die; and he would not in the first place lay by so much if he intended afterward to draw upon it and not merely live upon its interest.[23] Under conditions of private property, therefore, it would be suicidal to take away the right of bequeathing; and to restrict it without doing harm would require great circumspection and a nice balancing of causes and consequences, and of their relative merits. It is one of our problems, but not necessarily to be solved with the Gordian stroke in the way our socialists would solve it.

But under socialism, with its public ownership of all capital, private accumulation of capital may be replaced by public. "It is not for the individual citizen to save," boldly asserts Gronlund,

22 "It is antisocial"— and hence immoral,— says Pearson, "for the able-bodied . . . to receive interest on accumulated property," *op. cit.*, 416. As well say directly that it is immoral to save and to lend money to persons who need it and can make a good use of it. Of this moral aspect of the question, more later.

23 This is said on the supposition that the prohibition of bequeathing is effectually carried out, by preventing the distribution of property before death, since, after all, the treatment meted to Lear by his daughters is in such cases exceptional.

"but for society."[24] But will society save as resolutely as individuals? What is everybody's business, will that be as well done as what is each one's own business? Then all saving will require self-denying on the part of the generation that does it. Now much saving, on the part of men who make great coups, involves no self-denial at all. Then every work of great public utility, taking many years to construct, and to last for the enjoyment of many generations of posterity, must be paid for at the time by diverting labour from objects of immediate enjoyment. Now, by the system of credit, the expense may be thrown upon the future generations that profit by it. Perhaps some of this throwing of the charge upon futurity is an illusion; but it is an illusion that influences opinion that leads to action. Now, whenever such a work is contemplated, there is great clamour for it, not only by those who expect to use it, but by many who have already made savings and desire for them a safe investment. Under socialism this latter clamour will not arise, and a considerable incentive to public works will be missed.[25] Each generation will wish rather to consume and enjoy than to abstain and produce for future generations. Socialism, in fact, has ever made its appearance in the world, seriously, only when and where already exists a great accumulation of capital for it to take over and draw upon. It is consumptive rather than productive.[26]

Many may now make savings without any self-denial. This is a matter of some importance. Such savings are made by persons of exceptional ability. Socialists are fond of repeating that in the brief space of one life-time no man can amass a million dollars honestly — no man can create that amount of produce, no man can add that amount to existing wealth.[27] In reply, let us take

24 *Co-operative Commonwealth,* 143–4. The individual may "save," but not "invest," he says elsewhere, *The New Economy,* 45. Thrift (= labour and saving) on the part of individuals is deprecated by other socialists, as encouraging labourers to go over to the side of the capitalists: see quotations from John Burns and Hyndman in Lecky's *Democracy and Liberty,* ii. 386–7.

25 This disadvantage of socialism may more than offset an advantage of a somewhat similar sort conceded to it above (p. 17) about avoiding the interference with legislation by the "liquor interest," and others like it, in possible detraction from the public weal.

26 The reference is to democratic socialism; for not such was the Cretan and the Spartan. Yet even they are hardly exceptions, as they were established by conquerors, who found a civilised country ready to their hand, and who merely divided it and its workers amongst themselves. Similarly the Incas were a superior race who made use of the Peruvians, whom they organised; as also did the missionaries with the Paraguayans. In all these cases the managers took the lion's share, and it was to their interest to make the others work industriously. Socialism was instituted once even in China, in the eleventh century; but its circumstances are too little known, and at all events it did not last. Such socialism as has been put into practice in Germany to-day, we may repeat, is state-socialism, which is a big bugaboo to the socialists proper.

27 *E.g.,* Bellamy, *Equality,* 112; Vail, *Modern Socialism,* 87; *cf.* Gronlund, *Co-operative Commonwealth,* 20, *The New Economy,* 84; also George, *Progress and Poverty,* IX. iii. end.

a simple case, that of a famous singer, male or female. So rare is his gift, and so delighted with it are people in a rich country, that they throng to his performances, paying high prices of admission with perfect voluntariness, many going over and over again, showing complete satisfaction with the return they get for their money. In a single decade he may acquire a million dollars, which have almost literally been showered upon him. Surely no dishonesty need have entered here: nobody has been defrauded or despoiled; for to say that those who pay him have defrauded and despoiled others, is not to the point. In fact, if many men of genius do not receive a million dollars, it is rather because they are themselves cheated. Or do you say that he ought to have shared the proceeds with his assistants, including those who have done the hand-labour at his concerts — the ticket-sellers, ushers, door-keepers, the sweepers and scrubbers, even those who in the first place built the halls in which he performed — the masons and carpenters? He has, in fact, given employment to many such hand-workers, and paid them their usual wages, and as a competitor in the market for their services has contributed to keep or to raise the customary rates. To say he ought to do more and is dishonest for not doing more — that he has robbed them,— is absurd. If he shared his gains with them, it would be a pure donation of what was paid to himself and for himself alone.[28] And if he were to be required to give away his earnings in charity, as well say he should give alms to others as to his work-people: perhaps better say that, as others may stand in greater need. The proper time for charity is after making one's money, not while making it, since undue zeal may impede one's gains and ultimately diminish one's capacity for giving. Charity should come out of revenue, or out of capital devoted to revenue, not out of business. This is said without detracting from the need of goodwill and kindliness, which all employers ought to entertain for their employés.

But has such a child of fortune created a million dollars worth of wealth. By his own labour he has not created an atom of material wealth, but he has, in their own estimation, given a million dollars worth of pleasure to thousands of individuals, and has rendered service to society in providing a healthy and perhaps soul-stirring recreation. This is wealth, though the materialists may ignore it. You may say he has not added anything to the

28 If an employer pays more than is customary "from any other view than his own interest," says F. A. Walker, "what he thus pays is not wages, but alms disguised as wages," *The Wages Question*, 110. Similarly H. George: "The surplus that the rich employer thus gives above what he is compelled to pay is not in reality wages, it is essentially alms," *The Condition of Labour — An Open Letter to Leo XIII.* (*Works*, iii. 92).

existing wealth, because what he produced was evanescent. But note this: — he has collected a million dollars in driblets from persons who, if they had not spent it on his entertainments, would have spent it on other things, and have consumed it as revenue. He has piled it up in one store, and as it is more than he can readily spend as revenue, he uses it as capital, either buying land or stocks, thereby liberating an equal amount of capital for other uses, or loaning it out in new enterprizes. Thus he does add even to material wealth, by mopping up wealth that would have been scattered in revenue, and converting it into capital.[29]

The same is the case with many other professions. A doctor may sit in his office and give advice to those who come to consult him, who voluntarily pay him at perhaps the rate of a dollar a minute, and who do not think they are cheated, while he has not spare time enough in which to spend what comes to him. An editor of a newspaper or of a magazine may provide just what millions of people want, who voluntarily subscribe and advertise, and fill his coffers with millions. This one may have a great many employés, and he does them a benefit by giving them work, rather than he robs them by not dividing with them all his profits. As a rule such a successful man pays more to his subordinates than they can get from others, it being his policy to employ the best workers; and it is only such workers who can get this better pay. So also lawyers and others may merely take wealth from others, but they may not only enable others to make more, but they themselves by accumulating may convert into capital used for production what otherwise might have gone up in smoke. Similarly a statesman may benefit the people of a state to an enormous extent, and if he receives less than a million he may in fact be underpaid. It is one of the defects of the present system of the world that many are underpaid, as also that many are overpaid. Its grand summary departure from justice lies in the fact that most are not rightly paid. But it is no correction of this fault to require that all should be equally paid. Another bad defect of the present system is that many successful men acquire their fortunes through dishonest means. This is the fault that first needs correction. Socialism promises to correct it also. In that it may prevent anybody from being successful, socialism may be allowed to do so. But it is not a helpful way to cure a disease by killing the patient.

29 The last remark does not apply to little singers and other entertainers, who make no more than they can themselves spend as revenue. Whether these are useful members of society, depends on whether they provide healthful recreation and do not lure to excessive idleness. If they do the latter, the fault is shared with the people who give in to the lure and in their turn encourage the lurers.

Socialism would prevent the great acquisitions made by, or more literally given to, the accomplished musician above used as a model of honest success. Yet socialists profess that under their system such a one would still receive all he deserves, and that he would be listened to by many more than can now afford to pay to hear him. They forget that what is called his gift is not wholly so, but it needs to be developed by an immense and intense application of study and practice, which would not be devoted to it but in anticipation of the superior gains that may now accrue. Under their system a Paderewski would no doubt be a good player, but hardly the supremely excellent player he has made himself. And so in all departments, most of the excellence that is due to unsparing labour would be cut off and never appear, any more than it is seen among uncivilised peoples who do not appreciate it. There may have been hundreds of men with the genius of Edison, and there may have been hundreds of women with as good a voice as Patti's, but they have not laboured to capacitate themselves to make so many inventions or to give so much enjoyment, because they had not the inducement of the prospect of so much gain. Under socialism, at least in some of the theories,[30] everybody, man or woman, will have to do hand-labour of some materially productive sort, a few hours every day, to pay for the material things they consume, and they can work for their own self-culture only in their leisure hours, and need not do so if they do not wish to. Under such conditions there can be in the higher professions nothing but dilettantism. Even if, as in some of the theories, the gifted men and women may be permitted to earn their living by their profession, and to devote all their working time to it, nevertheless, as their living will not be better in consequence of their performance being better, their professionalism will little differ from amateurishness. Amateurs to-day have the inducement of honour and admiration, which is all that is left in socialism and upon which socialists count so much; and yet with the fewest exceptions, even in matters of play, like billiards or golf, do they ever rank in excellence with those who have the stimulus of gain to urge them on.

To-day, also, much of the excellence due to untiring labour is encouraged by the ability not only to receive and to own what is thereby earned, but to save it, to invest it and use it as capital, and to bequeath it to whom one pleases, instead of squandering it. To the rarely gifted these things are a useful incentive. To the ordinary workers and plodders they are a needed spur. After

30 *E.g.*, Bebel's, in *Die Frau*, 284.

all, probably the greatest amount of savings, the greatest accumulation of capital, is made in small sums by the major number of ordinarily endowed persons, who in their several occupations make an ordinary living. The savings of these require self-denial, and their self-denial in the present needs the fear of want in the future. And this fear of want in the future is increased, and its influence is greater, if the prospect includes the worker's wife and children. In truth, the real saver is not the individual, but the family, since the individual has but a short future life before him, but his family reaches on without visible termination. Socialism takes away the connection between the individual and his family, since it permits the other members to be left in no sort of dependence on him, but only on society. In fact, many socialists boast that they will make society one great family; and this family, society, we have seen, is to be the only saver, the only accumulator, the only owner of capital. But it is only a sham family that can be made out of society, dilated to evanishment, while all true families are destroyed. Some socialists hold back and deny this, saying they do not intend to destroy the private families, asserting that they will preserve family life and the home: society to Spargo, for instance, is to be only "a great Over-Parent," supplementing the natural parents.[31] But they will find themselves vainly trying to stem a current they have themselves let loose. Many socialists would leave to the family little else than private apartments in vast caravansaries, though Bellamy allowed them separate cottages, their meals being taken in common, like the Spartan *sussitia*. The many little private kitchens, says Bebel, like the many little workshops, will disappear, giving place to a few large establishments economically managed by the community.[32] The wife will have no domestic labours, woman's work being undistinguished from man's.[33] The wife as well as the husband will labour in the occupations which she has chosen or which have been assigned her.[34] Each will retain his and her own individual interests, as well together as apart. The

31 *Socialism and Motherhood*, 62.

32 *Die Frau*, 339–40, *cf.* 294.

33 "Ohne Unterschied des Geschlechts" is a frequent emphasised asseveration in Bebel's work, 173, 267, 268, 271.

34 According to Gronlund, however, most married women will not "earn their own living," as he holds "that it is the husband's province to provide for the necessities of his family (much more so in the coming commonwealth, where it will be so much more easy to do it), and that the wife has done her full share of the common labour when she manages her household properly." But he wants socialism to provide opportunity for every woman "to earn her own living honourably and pleasantly whenever she chooses so to do," either before marriage or after divorce, such ability being essential to the dignity of woman, *Co-operative Commonwealth*, 228–9, 224; followed by Vail, *Modern Socialism*, 134–6. (*Cf.* Mill, *Subjection of Women*, 89.) That the married man is to be paid more than the unmarried, Gronlund does not allow. In all probability, then, as the labour for the community is slight, married women would continue to work outside, since it would be just so much clear gain.

family will not be the serious combination it has hitherto been. It will be merely a union for pleasure.

As such, family life will be merely a private affair. Some socialists carry out this scheme, and recognise that marriage will be an ordinary contract, not requiring the intervention of any public functionary.[35] The full consequence would be that such contracts, like other partnerships, may be entered upon for definite periods — a year, a month, a weak, or less;[36] and no matter how long or short they be, when they are broken by one party, the other party will be set free: in fact, it has been asserted that when disinclination to the union arises in either party, morality requires its end,[37]— in other words, that divorce is then a duty.[38] Few socialists in England and America, however, are hardy enough to go so far, though it is the necessary consequence of their premises.[39] But they all allege that there will be no more prostitution; which will be very natural, when such easy marriage is so handy a substitute,— and what is prostitution but a contract of such marriage for a few hours?[40] Marriage, being only a temporary affair, might almost as well be dispensed with altogether. As it has hitherto existed, the regulation of marriage has had a close connection with the regulation of private property, in its succession to heirs. Not all socialists perceive this, but it was understood by Bebel, who accepted the conclusion that when there is no more private property to hand on to heirs, there being no regulation of succession, there need be no regulation of marriage. He therefore tells us that under socialism people will not bother themselves any more about the legitimacy of children, since legi-

35 Bebel, *Die Frau*, 342.

36 "A 'Sighe' wife in Persia is taken in marriage for a certain legally stipulated period, which may vary from one hour to ninety-nine years," Westermarck, *The History of Human Marriage*, 519 (from Polak's *Persien*).

37 Bebel, 343.

38 Similarly Gronlund, following Fichte, holds that in many cases divorce is preferable, *op. cit.*, 231–2; and yet he says: "Because socialism will facilitate divorces, it follows not at all that it favours them," 230. It matters not at all whether it "favours" them or not, so long as it *facilitates* them.

39 Yet thus speak Bax and Morris: "Under a socialist system contracts between individuals would be voluntary and unenforced by the community. This would apply to the marriage contract as well as others, and it [the marriage contract] would become a matter of simple inclination [voluntary as to its observance also!] . . . Nor would a truly enlightened public opinion, freed from merely theological views as to chastity, insist on its [the marriage contract's] permanently binding nature in the face of any discomfort or suffering that might ensue," Note F. to their edition of *The Manifesto of the Socialist League*, p. 12. Observe that *any* inconvenience is to be avoided by the individual, at whatever hazard to the race.

40 Finck in his *Primitive Love and Love-Stories*, 641–2, quoting from Lewin's *Wild Races of South-Eastern India*, remarks that, as "the reason why there are no harlots is that they 'are rendered unnecessary by the freedom of intercourse indulged in and allowed to both sexes before marriage,' we see that what at first seemed a virtue is really a mark of lower degradation. Some of the oldest legislators, like Zoroaster and Solon, already recognised the truth that it was better to sacrifice a few women to the demon of immorality than to expose them all to contamination. The wild tribes of India," he adds, "have not yet arrived at that point of view"; and our socialists are now abandoning it.

timacy is needed only to determine heirship.[41] This means that fatherhood will no longer be a relationship to be respected, and children will have only mothers for recognisable parents. Communism of property, as has already been noted, and communism of women, or promiscuity of sexual intercourse, have a necessary connection. When women are economically independent, they are sexually as free as men. When children, too, being at the charge of the state, are economically independent of their parents, the last bond is broken. Men now bind themselves for the sake of women and of their children. Then there will be no occasion for their so doing,— nor on the part of the women either.[42] According to Bebel, also the gratification of the sexual impulse, equally by men or women, is entirely a personal affair, like that of any other impulse, and one with which nobody else has any business to interfere.[43] He here seems to go too far, and to forget that from this kind of indulgence children may come, who are others very vividly affected,— unless he relies on preventive measures. On these, however, socialists do rely; and for non-child-bearing unions Pearson agrees with Bebel.[44] Such principles would lead still more readily to the sanction of Lesbian love and of pederasty.[45] Dissoluteness will then almost become a principle; for actions which are now regarded as dissolute will

41 *Die Frau*, 346.

42 *Cf.* Hasenklever and Jörissen, quoted in Woolsey's *Communism and Socialism*, 257–8.

43 *Die Frau*, 343.

44 *Ethic of Freethought:* "With the sex-relationship, so long as it does not result in children, I hold that the state of the future will in no way concern itself," 424; "Children apart, it is unendurable that church or society should in any official form interfere with lovers," 427; similarly 426; *cf.* 368, 430. So also Bertrand Russell, *Marriage and the Population Question*, in The International Journal of Ethics, July, 1916, pp. 454, 461. Likewise Forel, *The Sexual Question*, 369, 378, 506–7; who says that in all this subject, except on some scientific points, he is "in accord with the ideas of Bebel," 528.— With regard to Bebel, the apologist Spargo would have it that the above are some of the passages referred to in the Preface to *Die Frau* as merely the expression of Bebel's personal opinions, *Socialism and Motherhood*, 105n., and himself asserts that "it is probable that not one per cent. of the socialists of America, or of the world for that matter, agree with" Bebel here, 104, *cf.* 110; but he candidly quotes Morris and Bax to the same effect as Bebel, 106–8. (See their joint *Socialism in its Growth and Outcome*, 229–30. He might have cited also Hyndman's *Historical Basis of Socialism*, 452. *Cf.* also Grant Allen, to be cited in *Feminism.*) Spargo also employs what in logic is called the fallacy of the heap, to prove that extension of the assumption of industries by the state, which is socialism, will not result in free love, 112–15. He holds that monogamy will still be maintained, 110, 119, 120,— its form, to be sure, but he adds "probably divorce will be made more easy and the cessation of love be freely recognised as a sufficient reason for the dissolution of marriage ties, especially when there are no children concerned," 123. "There is no socialist theory of marriage" is his main defence. Marriage is, in fact, one of the social points on which the socialists cannot agree in advance, and might not afterward agree in different countries. But it is not the less dangerous on that account. Among them it is only the so-called "Christian socialists," a very minor sect, who resolutely oppose these re-(and de-)moralising views.

45 Forel, in fact, does not shrink from tolerating these things, and would permit even the "marriage" of homosexuals; nor would he punish sodomy. *The Sexual Question*, 247, 400–1, 404; 378, 442, 484; 256, 400. He thinks that, as these unions are sterile, the hereditary tendency to such vices would then die out. He does not see that the open permission of them might lead also to indulgence in them by others.

then be normal. True, it is only excess that is largely injurious. But against excess the only expectation of a prophylactic which the socialists offer, lies in their belief in the perfected character which will suddenly be induced in all people when they are made equal and are freed from struggling with one another for existence. No longer needing to injure others, nobody, it is believed, will injure himself. Or if such continence is not at once acquired, the future society may, as is now done, make regulations to check excessive indulgences that amount to vices.[46] Policemen and reformatory establishments will in that case still be necessary. Only the socialists fail to see that with these changed conditions new temptations would arise, which may overpower all their resistance, as much as the old temptations defeat our present-day efforts.

It is true that many of the evils here attributed to socialism are outcroppings of advanced civilisation, that have already made their appearance and are not unlikely to go on increasing. But, for the reason that they are evils, it is our duty to counteract them. That they are products of civilisation, should in no wise be considered a recommendation of them, any more than the diseases of old age should be praised on the ground that old age is an advancement upon youth. The error of socialism is that it tries to foster these very evils. Its ideal life is, in fact, the life of sterile, ease-loving senility, rendered worse by retaining some of the ardors of youth, and incapable of holding back from the descent into the grave.

The last hope is that the free conditions, by giving free choice for the marriage partnership, will introduce sexual selection for the improvement of the race. The pleasant process of sexual selection is henceforth to take the place of the painful process of natural selection, and is to carry the work of improvement to a far higher level. Women will no longer have to choose their supporters, or take the first one that offers, as of old from among the brutally strong, or as of late from among the fraudently rich,— from the energetic or the idle; but, being independent, they will wait till they are courted by, or will themselves court, the man of fine physique or intellect whom they admire. Were women economically free, said the late J. Keir Hardie, they would have "a free choice in their selection of a father for their children," the less fit would get left, and "the race would begin to improve straightway."[47] For there will only be love-matches;

46 "It will see to it," says Gronlund, "that there are no giddy young girls running round on the streets by themselves at night," *op. cit.*, 233.

47 *From Serfdom to Socialism*, London, 1907, ch. vi., "Socialism and the Woman Question," p. 68.

and it seems to be imagined that only the fair, the true, and the good will be loved, and only they will marry. The old saying is forgotten, that every man and woman can find his or her mate. If bad, faithless, and ugly men cannot find good, true, and beautiful women to marry them, they will at least find women of their own type, who, being rejected by the good, true, and handsome men, will be only too willing to marry the left-over men like themselves, if indeed they do not prefer them in the first place, since like likes like.[48] The fact that all marriages will be love affairs, says Bellamy, "means that for the first time in human history the principle of sexual selection, with its tendency to preserve and transmit the better types of the race, and let the inferior types drop out, has unhindered operation.[49] Let the inferior types drop out! — sexual selection has no tendency whatever to do that: to do that is the operation of natural selection. Most strange is it that the naturalist and socialist, the late Alfred Russel Wallace, who rejected Darwin's doctrine of sexual selection at least as applied to animals always and to mankind in the past, and who claimed to be a co-discoverer of natural selection, upon which he placed the greatest stress, yet in his last work reverted to such dependence on a kind of sexual selection for mankind in the future under socialism. Then, he says, "a special form of selection," "free selection in marriage," "will come into play." Children being better cared for, there will come to be more men than women, which "will lead to a greater rivalry for wives, and will give to women the power of rejecting all the lower types of character among their suitors."[50] To what women, pray? "The idle or utterly selfish" men, he says, "would be almost universally rejected," as also "the weak in intellect." But there are similar women, and if they find no suitors among the perfect men, will they not put up with those others, or even choose them? At best, but a trifling excess of males at the bottom of desirability may be cut off, but there is nothing presented to prevent all females, even the lowest, from marrying. Mr. Wallace, moreover, postulates that there will be "no way of gratifying the passion of love but by marriage;" and seems to assume also that marriage will still be, like marriage at present in England, an irremediable step, as he expects that

48 *I.e.*, those on the same mental, moral, and social level; for as regards personal idiosyncrasies, the unlike like each other.

49 *Looking Backward*, 267. A similar opinion is expressed by Finck, who is far from being either a socialist or a feminist, in his *Primitive Love and Love-Stories*, 819–20. Not quite accurately as to the first appearance in human history of sexual selection, if ancient historians may be believed: see above, p. 87n. of *The Climax of Civilization*.

50 *Social Environment and Moral Progress*, 146–8, 153, 162–4.

women will tarry long before taking it,— and upon this delay of marriage he relies to prevent overpopulation. He relies, too, upon the moral sentiment that will lead people to become "thoroughly acquainted with each other before undertaking so serious a responsibility as marriage usually involves."[51] He is again retaining present conditions, when marriage involves serious responsibility, in a changed state, when marriage will no longer involve any responsibility whatever. Or if he refers to the moral responsibility not to produce inferior offspring, he overlooks that it is precisely the inferior men and women who are least scrupulous in this regard.

As a matter of fact, there is a small, though unsatisfactory, amount of sexual selection by marriage in the present régime, as is proved by the well-known fact of the greater longevity of married persons compared with the unmarried.[52] For this is due to the fact that women are afraid to marry weak men for fear of their inability to give support, and weak men also being afraid to marry weak women, many weak men cannot find wives, and a corresponding number of weak women must go without husbands.[53] The astonishing thing about Wallace's argument for socialism is, that it is precisely socialism that does away with this kind of restraint, since the weak and inefficient will then be supported by the state as well as the strong and the efficient. To be sure, in our present régime, some weak men with money obtain wives on account of their money, while some strong men who have no fortune corresponding to their station in life are left in the lurch; and this is what the socialists object to. But the number of such persons is comparatively small, as is proved by the fact, notwithstanding, of the superiority of the married over the unmarried. Socialism, however, will throw open marriage to all the weaklings, unless positive measures be taken against their marrying,— and such measures can just as well be taken now.

Sexual selection alone cannot improve any species as a whole. What it does, is to cause differentiation, splitting into an improving and a deteriorating section, but leaving the general average untouched. The best specimens mating with the best, and the worst with the worst, or those endowed with some peculiarity choosing their similars, and those endowed with some other peculiarity choosing theirs, in the course of ages the divergence of the sections may become so great that they constitute two

51 *Op. cit.*, 148; 158–60; 158–9.
52 *Cf.* Saleeby, *Parenthood and Race Culture*, 219–24.
53 *Cf.* Spencer, *Study of Sociology*, 92–6.

species, only one of which will be on a higher plane, but counterbalanced by the other on a lower, if that continues to exist. This is the way sexual selection, abstracted by itself, contributes to the Darwinian theory of the origin of species. As for the improvement of species, that is accounted for, in Darwinism, only by the cutting off of the worst specimens before they reach maturity, or by cutting off the offspring of those who do mate; which is done, in nature, by natural selection consequent upon excessive numbers and their struggle for existence with each other or with their environment, and which may be done, in domesticated animals, by human selection, and is so done commonly by breeders, who destroy or keep from reproduction the unfit. In the human species itself, sexual selection alone would have the same effect as just described in animals and plants. It would lead to a gradual differentiation of mankind into a superior type and into an inferior type, which in a million years or so might constitute two species. But long before, the divergence might become so marked that all brotherly feeling would cease between the two sets, and very possibly the condition would before long come about which was taken for granted by Aristotle, when he held that some men were fitted by nature only to be slaves, like beasts of burden, and others were fitted by nature to be their masters.[54] If, therefore, under socialism, natural selection is to be done away with and nothing substituted in its place, the tendency of an untrammeled sexual selection will be toward a condition in which democratic socialism will no longer be possible.

This is said on the hypothesis that socialism is found to work, and that the higher type of mankind will be as prolific as the lower. But as the lower type will probably be more prolific than the higher, socialism will come to an end even before it can be well shaken down and described as successful. To prevent this, and to give socialism any chance to get under way at all, it will be necessary to introduce the breeder's kind of artificial selection, to take the place of the natural, which socialism cuts off. In other words, regulations will have to be made to prevent the inferior men and women from procreating children, or to do away with their offspring after being conceived or born, while the superior are encouraged, or required, to bring forth children for the state to rear. It is a curious reflection that two thousand years before Darwin this solution was recommended by Plato in his ideal commonwealth.[55] Our modern socialists are more ten-

54 *Politics*, I. iv–vi.
55 *Republic*, V. 459A–60B, 461C.

der-hearted, and shrink from the negative side of the undertaking. A few have faced the problem; and now that they are backed up by some of the eugenists with their plans for the segregation or the sterilisation of the unfit, it may be expected that their numbers will increase.[56] Others only hint at it.[57] But they all are confronted with the dilemma: either they must, by stringent regulations, employ artificial selection, or they must give up socialism as utterly hopeless. And if they do adopt the first horn, they gain nothing over our present régime, which is equally, if not more, capable of adopting the eugenic scheme; and all the other objections to socialism will still remain.

The last defect of the socialists' arch-enemy, Malthus, was that he knew nothing of Darwinism. It is well known that Malthus gave to Darwin hints about the "struggle for existence" and the "survival of the fittest,"[58] though the name for the latter came from Herbert Spencer, whence Darwin developed his full theory about those and "natural selection." But Malthus himself did not develop his premisses, and had no suspicion of natural selection and of the service rendered to it by the struggle or competition of men necessitated by their crowding on the earth and pressing upon the limits of subsistence. Had he anticipated Darwin, it is possible he would not have insisted so much upon the slackening of this pressure. Still, from the point of view of Darwinism, Malthus's doctrine would have been very serviceable, had it been observed exactly as he taught it, and not in any other way. For if he had really been able to persuade all men to refrain from marriage and from sexual intercourse until they were able to support a large family, only the most competent workers would attain the ability to propagate their line of descent, while the indolent and incompetent would be cut off without offspring. Malthus never expected to reach this end by mere persuasion. Nor would he employ governmental regulation. He would use the hard school of misery, by keeping government from aiding

56 *E.g.*, Spargo adopts their recommendation at least of segregation of the mentally defective and the diseased, *Socialism and Motherhood*, 122. So also Bellamy, *Equality*, 364.

57 Bebel seems to do so. He nowhere makes Bellamy's and Wallace's foolish statement. All he says on the subject is that, since we are thinking beings, unlike the animals, it is our business to apply all scientific knowledge, and especially Darwinism, to our political, social, and religious conditions, and to reform them; which work is, of course, to be performed by socialism, and only by socialism, *Die Frau*, 198, 195–6, *cf.* 347. *Cf.* also his definition of socialism as "science applied to all provinces of human activity with clear consciousness and full knowledge," 376; which, by the way, is a plagiarism, like so much taken by the fourth estate from the early (and discarded) teachings of the third, since liberalism was defined by some one as "nothing else but rational knowledge applied to our existing conditions": see Max Stirner, *Der Einzige und sein Eigentum*, 126.

58 Hints of the former may be found everywhere in Malthus's *Essay*, and of the latter on pp. 2, 257, 268, 270, the first being taken from Franklin, and the second a quotation from Dr. Strong.

the poor, and by prescribing circumspection to private charity. Some of the incompetent would suffer from their improvidence, and much of their progeny perish; and others of the incompetent would be frightened by their example and abstain, leaving none of their kind. It is this Darwinian element in Malthus's teaching that lends to it its value. But it was contained in his teaching accidentally, and another complementary element was lacking. He taught the poor and unsuccessful to abstain, but he did not teach the rich and successful to propagate their kind. This lack may likewise have been accidental, as in his day the English upper and middle classes were fruitful, commonly having large families, and he did not anticipate any change. Yet, though he directed his instruction to the poor, it was accepted mostly by the rich, who have taken to themselves what was not intended for them. And it has affected them, as also the only poor that it has reached, mostly in the form of the Neo-Malthusianism of Bradlaugh and Annie Besant, which inculcates, not abstention, but prevention. Certainly the phenomenon of small or childless families would have appeared at the stage of civilisation at which we have arrived, without Malthus's aid; but his teaching has made conscious what otherwise might have remained unconscious, and has no doubt enhanced the tendency. But it is only in civilised countries, and there mostly in the upper classes, that his one-sided and misapplied lesson has been learnt; and they have almost ceased to multiply their kind and to send them forth to possess the unoccupied parts of the world. The less civilised and the uncivilised have been unaffected, and they are now the principal ones that follow the natural injunction to generate and to go forth and replenish the earth. Malthus's doctrine, entirely contrary to any intention on his part, thus cuts off competition in the upper classes and in the superior races, while leaving it only in the lower. The problem of overpopulation is not solved, but to it is added the more serious problem concerning the proper sort of re-population. If the best fail to do their share, the world will be left to the worst. The poor, it seems, and those of poorest stock shall inherit the earth.[59]

59 *Cf.* Galton: "If this doctrine [Malthus's] influenced all classes alike, I should have nothing to say about it, . . . but, as it is put forward as a rule of conduct for the prudent part of mankind to follow, whilst the imprudent are necessarily left free to disregard it, I have no hesitation in saying that it is a most pernicious rule of conduct in its bearing upon race. Its effect would be such as to cause the race of the prudent to fall, after a few centuries, into an almost incredible inferiority of numbers to that of the imprudent, and it is therefore calculated to bring utter ruin upon the breed of any country where the doctrine prevailed. I protest against the abler races being encouraged to withdraw in this way from the struggle for existence. It may seem monstrous that the weak should be crowded out by the strong; but it is still more monstrous that the races best fitted to play their part on the stage of life, should be crowded out by [rather, give way to] the incompetent, the ailing,

Yet the socialists, though they despise Malthus, do nothing to cure the evil in his defective teaching. In fact, they take out of it the little good it contains. No more than he admonishing the competent to procreate, they do not advise the incompetent to abstain. Leaving every one to his own devices, they would introduce a scheme in which the competent are provided with no inducement to propagate their kind, and the incompetent with no hindrance to propagate theirs. On the contrary, what little hindrance now impedes the incompetent, and what little inducement still encourages the competent, they would take away. Shutting their eyes to these consequences, they place their reliance on the natural instinct or impulse in mankind as in all living beings toward the love between the sexes and toward the love between parents and offspring. They forget here, what they harp upon elsewhere, that mankind are unlike other animals in possessing intelligence, whereby they can divert nature from her course, and do variously divert it, sometimes for better, sometimes for worse.[60] If they would employ regulation to make the diversion for good, this legislation could hardly be so effective in a system where economic conditions counteract it, as in our present system where, as in the past, economic conditions would second it, and where, nevertheless, such legislation has been little effective and is one of the most dubious undertakings the legislator can attempt.[61] Moreover, their system, if introduced at all, will be introduced first, and last, among the most advanced nations and races, where alone it has a footing. If it acts as there is every likelihood of its acting, it will weaken the strong element in them and pull down the average ability and vigour; while it will leave the other nations and races unaffected. The overpopulation of the latter will overflow the bounds and

and the desponding," *Hereditary Genius*, 356–7.— Even the Neo-Malthusian, W. J. Robinson, whose confidence in the future taking care of itself has been quoted (above, i. 89), has to admit that "it will not do for one country to preach and practise extreme limitation of offspring, when other countries breed unrestrainedly." But the remedy, he says, "is not to give up preaching limitation of offspring, but preaching it in all countries." *The Limitation of Offspring*, 60. Meanwhile, however, it is preached in some civilised countries, and it is not preached, and there is no prospect of its being preached, in all countries. And here, too, in our country, the prohibition of instruction about the means withholds the teaching of it from the lower classes, while not keeping it from the upper. So the promotion of "reversed selection" goes merrily on.

60 "Intelligence and fecundity vary reciprocally," according to the lover in H. G. Wells's *The Wife of Sir Isaac Harman*, p. 385 (New York ed.); *cf.* Lester F. Ward, *Applied Sociology*, 323, both following Spencer.

61 The reference is to regulation of marriage, which is better regulated by public opinion, a right public opinion on the subject being one of the desiderata of higher civilisation. Of course legislation preventing inebriates, narcotomaniacs, epileptics, feeble-minded persons, some kinds of sexual perverts (especially sadists), the hopelessly diseased, from propagating, by segregating or sterilising them, can be rendered effective,— and for this, socialism is not necessary. Nor is socialism necessary for the recommendation of contraception to the practically deficient and incompetent, who, if they agree to employ it, need not be forbidden to marry among themselves.

meet with an enfeebled resistance in the state of the population in the civilised nations. As the backward races are now adopting from the advanced the springs of strength, it is not pleasant to contemplate the probable result.

CHAPTER IV.

THE IMPRACTICABILITY OF SOCIALISM

It has been shown that full socialism would lead to the destruction of the civilisation of those who adopted it, on the supposition that they could successfully bring it into operation. It will now be shown that it can never in our day, or in our cycle of civilisation, be successfully brought into operation, and that those who should try to adopt it, would fail in the attempt, causing meanwhile much confusion and injury.

The earliest socialists, as we have seen, were idealist philosophers. Then appeared middle-class philanthropists, who wished to raise the lower classes into close partnership with themselves. Lastly came agitators, who incited the lower classes to take the matter into their own hands and fight for equality with the middle classes, as the middle classes had fought for equality with the upper classes. Greatest among these was Marx. He and Engels in 1848 beat the tocsin of "the proletariat revolution."[1] And when Marx later turned to the elaboration of economic theory in his work on *Capital,* of which the first volume was not published till 1867, he still, in a very short chapter buried in a very long book, repeated the doctrine of his and Engel's *Communist Manifesto.* The evils of the present conditions are to go on accumulating, the big capitalists killing off the little ones, their numbers decreasing, while grows the mass of misery, degradation, and slavery below them, but at the same time is improved the discipline, union, and organisation of the workers, until at last, the former waning, the latter waxing, they become incompatible, "the knell of capitalist private property

1 Already in 1845 Engels had published his *Condition of the Working Class in England in 1844* (English translation in 1887, references are to the New York edition), which, placing the blame for everything on the bourgeoisie, pp. 63 n., 69, 82, with consequent exculpation of the proletariat, 76-9, was one long incitement to hatred and revolt, especially pp. 59, 76, 77, 79, 80, 142, 195. Here he said that "the speedy collapse of the bourgeoise régime is as certain as a mathematical or mechanical demonstration," to be brought about in a revolution compared with which the French revolution would appear like "child's play," p. 14.; *cf.* 150, 174, 198, also 142, 147. So in a speech at Elberfeld reported in the Rheinische Jahrbücher für gesellschaftliche Reform, Darmstadt, 1845, p. 79: "With the same certainty with which from given mathematical premisses we can deduce a new equation, we can infer from the existing economic conditions and the principles of political economy an impending social revolution."

sounds," and "the expropriators are expropriated." For "capitalist production begets, with the inexorability of a law of Nature [he meant a law of Hegel] its own negation;" and the synthesis is the union of the capitalists' centralisation with the workingmen's organisation, in the socialisation of production.[2]

This is Marx's celebrated "materialistic conception of history," which is one of the two great "discoveries" set down to his credit by his obsequious followers. The other is a pure theory in political economy, which will call for examination later. This one may here be subjected to a few animadversions. It should rather be considered as an "economic interpretation of history" (a term due to Thorold Rogers, but often erroneously ascribed to Marx), and in its larger aspect it is true enough as to a main statement that economic conditions are a tremendous factor in the determination of human opinions and of consequent institutions, and need to be taken into account in any interpretation of history that would be at all fundamental and complete. But Marx's own new philosophy of history was wrong, being by this time (only fifty years after it was propounded) disproved by its false prophecy,[3] and having been ill-founded through his going back for his starting point no further than the middle ages. His induction to the future was that the people of his day were soon (now already) to enter into an entirely new social system. He recognised that the existing system of capital is itself a new system; but, like many other thinkers, he mistook it for an entirely new system making its appearance recently for the first time in the history of the world. And he was perhaps right in considering it a temporary system, though not in considering it merely transitional and soon to end. In truth, though our present system is new in modern times, and though it contains some entirely new features of a minor sort, and some old ones carried to a higher degree than ever before, yet in its general outline or essential nature it is not new in the history of the world, something analogous to it having appeared in every civilisation, and having proved itself the culmination of every civilisation hitherto and precursor of its decline.[4] The past, then, yields us, and the

2 *Capital*, i. ch. xxxii. He here quotes, in a foot-note, from the *Manifesto:* "The bourgeoisie produces its own grave-diggers." See also the Preface to his *Kritik der politischen Oekonomie.*

3 It is, from this standpoint, utterly demolished in V. G. Simkhovitch's able work *Marxism versus Socialism*, New York, 1913.

4 Marx himself, however, later showed signs of being aware that "a slave economy," as he called it, took place well on in antiquity, "devoted to the production of surplus-value," and using money "as capital," *Capital*, iii. 390–1, 697, 698. It is remarkable that the analogy between that and our present régime did not strike him; whence he might have inferred that the system now destined to follow will likewise be as "historical," *i.e.*, "transitory," as was the system which followed that, and as our own is by him said to be, *cf.* 283, 293, 304–5, 309.

past alone can yield us, a guide to the future; for if the future is to be entirely different from the past, it cannot be foretold except in revelation. Though a temporary system, like everything sublunary, the culminating period of civilisation has rarely been a short one when extended over wide territory, but in length has generally compared well with its predecessor, which in our case, barring a period of transition (in England), was the feudal system, itself but a form of the period of status, which has always existed in a civilisation rising from primitive rudeness; wherefore, having come to maturity within the last fifty years, our period is likely, in our slow-moving cycle, to endure for several centuries yet. Marx, however, depicted its quickly arriving end after the manner of the end of the *ancien régime* on the continent of Europe — by another French revolution. He forgot that it took hundreds of years for the feudal system to run to decay, and only when it was thoroughly corrupt and bankrupt was it overthrown. So our capitalist system will, in all probability, not become bankrupt for some centuries yet,— most likely not till coal and iron become scarce; and not till then, in consequence of the senility and debility of the system, will there be force enough in the lowest classes or in outsiders. to destroy it.

In all probability, it is here said; for with regard to the future we can never be certain, and the more definite are our propositions about it, the less sure can we be of them. Marx was dogmatic, and dogmatism about the future is akin to fatalism. He said the present capitalist system is bound to give way to collectivism. Such teaching leads to quietism, as it takes away the need of action on the part of the advocates of collectivism, and also the need of resistance on the part of the beneficiaries of the existing régime. If he had said that collectivism is bound to come *if* its advocates do so and so, or *unless* its opponents do so and so, and that its advent may be hastened by certain doings of the former or retarded by certain doings of the latter, or retarded or hastened by mistakes committed by either of the parties respectively, he would have talked at least sensibly. Science makes predictions only thus conditionally. Yet Marx and his followers thought he was establishing socialism on a scientific basis — on its future necessity growing out of the present state of things, no matter what men, when they perceive the direction of the current, may do about it. He only talked like a Turk. But while he was writing, the tide was turning, *laissez-faire*ism was being abandoned, factory-legislation was being put through, the condition of labouring people was being improved, as he himself admitted (in 1864), and consequently the need of the social revolu-

tion was being shoved off.[5] He believed also that industrial crises were becoming more frequent and more intense, and would go on increasing, till at last a tremendous and universal one would no longer be endurable, and then the revolution would take place.[6] Instead, however, such crises have, since he wrote, become more amenable to control, and have diminished both in frequency and in intensity, offering little opportunity for the revolution desired.

False also, because without precedent, was his conception of what would follow. The revolution, he said, would be the last, because the class of the proletariat, really the mass of the population (Lassalle reckoned them at 96 *per cent.*[7]), would draw into itself all classes, wherefore there would be no more classes, and no more wars of classes. To be sure, in the past the upper classes have not been able, and knowing their inability have not attempted, to draw the lower classes up into themselves. On the other hand, it is within the range of possibility for the lower classes to pull down the upper classes and reduce all to the same low level. Yet they could not keep them there. In socialism itself, thus introduced, there would be commotions, till some few again rose up superior to the rest. Such an overthrow of our upper classes, by confiscation of the capital which they have produced or somehow acquired and accumulated, and which is now their support, would indeed bring our civilisation quickly over the brink of its culmination into the down-grade leading to its end, without the power of substituting a new civilisation in its place till the present cycle should have passed away. The very problem before us is with all our might to put off as far as possible such a decline into the abyss, or at all events to avoid such a catastrophe.

From the Marxian exposition of the almost immediate future and of social policy meanwhile, several items impressed themselves so deeply upon the minds of his followers as to appear like events and precepts of nature. One was that conditions were to become so intolerable that a major part of the population would rise up in execration of them, and, against the resistance of the few beneficiaries of the present régime and their underlings, would demand and execute its overthrow.[8] Another, that the best policy

5 Simkhovitch, *op. cit.*, 122–5.

6 *The Communist Manifesto*, 6th German ed., pp. 13–14; Engels, *Condition of the Working Class in England*, 56, 59, 82, 139, 197 (strikes being the working-men's preliminary skirmishes, 150); Marx, *Capital*, Preface to 2d ed. (Kerr's ed., i. 26), so late as 1873; and Engels again still in 1894, in *Capital*, iii. 575n.

7 *Gesamtwerke*, i. 31, 39. Rather curiously Sieyès had employed this same figure of the people whom the assembly of the *tiers état* represented, June 17, 1789 (Duruy, *Histoire de France*, ii. 473–4).

8 Bebel, *Die Frau*, 262. Gronlund. "I know it [the present régime] must become a great deal worse than it is before it can become better," *Co-operative Commonwealth*, 50; *cf.* Bellamy, *Equality*, 329–30.

was not to resist the prime cause of the evils, the continual concentration of capital in large corporations or trusts, but to welcome this operation both as quickening the opposition to private capitalism thus magnified and as facilitating the final transition to the single state-monopoly of all the sources and means of production.[9] Then, that the initial success of socialism was to be brought about by revolution. "The distinguishing trait of socialists," wrote Gronlund, "is that they boldly aim at revolution, and care not a jot about reforms."[10] Again, that this revolution was destined inevitably to take place,[11] so much so that, according to the same Marxian writer, here exhibiting the inherent fatalism, the present social order is already "tottering," and "socialists might simply fold their arms and calmly await its dissolution."[12] Lastly, that, preceded by the hastening evils, the revolution was to happen soon. Marx himself was shrewdly non-committal; but Bebel published the belief that it would practically be over before the end of the last century.[13] Gronlund modestly said there was little probability of its occurring in that century, but he believed it was already under way;[14] and Bellamy placed only its beginning at the end of that century and its end at the beginning of the present.[15] Others are still expectant.[16] Incidentally it may be remarked that Bebel thought that Germany would take the lead in this "giants' battle of the future";[17] but Gronlund was sure the

9 *E.g.*, Gronlund, *op. cit.*, 112, *The New Economy*, 29, 362; Bellamy, *Looking Backward*, 55–6; Kirkup, *Inquiry into Socialism*, 169. According to Engels, their "mission" is "to see to it that the little fish are swallowed by the big fish still more rapidly than before," in Marx's *Capital*, iii. 143n.

10 *Co-operative Commonwealth*, 291. "Social democracy is essentially revolutionary," in opposition to "state socialism," which is "conservative," said Liebknecht at the Social Democratic Congress held at Berlin in November, 1892.

11 Gronlund, *op. cit.*, 158, 201.

12 *Op. cit.*, 68 69, *cf.* 126. Gronlund also treats the future co-operative commonwealth as a natural growth out of the present — the evolution of a new organism, not indeed the slow development of a new species, but the quick genesis of the butterfly out of the caterpillar, when the time is ripe for the transformation. This is a reason, too, why socialists of his naturalistic type (of "the German school") will not plan about the details in advance, as did the early French architypal socialists, since "men are not in the habit of planning the development of a dog or a rose-bush," 104–6. Similarly Vail, *Modern Socialism*, 164.

13 *Die Frau*, 352, *cf.* 347, 377; also 225 from Mainländer. The first edition of this work was in 1878, but the prophecy is retained even in the thirteenth, so late as 1892, when only eight years were left for its fulfilment. Marx himself, however, in one mood, in 1850, seemed to think fifty years would be needed for preparation: see Spargo, *Socialism*, 327.

14 *Op. cit.*, 299. Society, he says is already "suffering the pangs of childbirth," 128. "The new order [not only is fast ripening, but] is amongst us and asserting itself vigorously," 106. "Everything is ripe, especially in the United States, for the great change, except leaders"; and he expected soon to see "an enthusiasm rivaling that of the first crusade," p. viii.

15 *Equality*, ch. xxxv., see also p. 382. More particularly he dated its beginning from 1873. Lassalle had dated this from 1848, in his *Arbeiterprogramm* (1862–3, *Gesamtwerke*, i. 187, 198).

16 Thus Hillquit, writing in 1909, assigns twenty-five years as a period within which socialism "may quite conceivably be established in some of the most progressive countries," *Socialism in Theory and Practice*, 109.

17 *Die Frau*, 377, 383.

United States would "inaugurate socialism first of all,"[18] and Bellamy so depicted the event.[19]

Too much ridicule must not be cast upon the socialists for the false prophecy of their leaders. It is characteristic of enthusiasts to be overconfident. But the overconfidence of the socialist leaders is a proof that they were enthusiasts, with much of the enthusiasts' proneness to delusion and blindness to reality. It is probably true, as all along shown in this work, that economic conditions will, in the times approaching, with ups and downs, grow worse; but this process will, as always before, be slow, and it may be hundreds of years before things become so intolerable as to warrant anything like a revolution. Meanwhile there will be counteracting causes at work, and periods of reform will occur, such as we seem at the present moment to be entering. Concentration of capital has been going on tremendously since Marx truly, but without the need of any unusual foresight, prophesied that it would do; but the middle classes are still holding their own through the very nature of the present corporation system, by which ownership is widely distributed among millions of stockholders.[20] Much needs to be done to check the evils of excessively centralised direction of industries; but political activity is already aroused to grapple with this monster. Even the undue concentration of land-ownership in our country is a danger of the future rather than of the present, although the tenant system of farming has already grown to an alarming extent. But this slow march of events is essentially different from the rapid deterioration which was expected. That rapid decline was counted upon to disgust people used to a better state, and to incite them to a radical resistance. A slow degradation has the effect of accustoming people to the poorer conditions that almost insensibly follow one another, and stifles any propensity to rebel.

Present-day socialists, therefore, have changed their tone. As the world is not at once going to the dogs, they admit it is well to make the best of it. In Germany they are "revising" their Marxism, and are becoming rather social reformers. Especially in England and America revolution is frowned upon, hope being placed in evolution.[21] The "reclaiming" of the sources and in-

18 *Op. cit.*, 300.

19 *Looking Backward*, 139–40.

20 Marx, says Simkhovitch, "obviously overlooked the significance of the joint-stock company," *op. cit.*, 92. The socialist Bernstein (quoted *ib.* 96) admits, however, the increase of the middle class, and would modify socialist policy accordingly.

21 Thus Pearson, *Ethic of Freethought*, 347–8, *cf.* 317–18, 352.— But H. G. Wells in a "looking backward" sort of Utopia, *The World Set Free*, still thinks a revolution (coming from above, however), with the establishment of a world-republic, will be rendered necessary, before many more years, by the increasing power of man over nature, which involves irresistible power of destruction. On this he places

struments of production will not be pressed till a majority of the people in numbers and in power clearly demand it, and then the process of taking them over by the government will be gradual. "There will be no *coup de force*." [22] At most the idea of a "general strike" is retained — of a strike sometime to be perpetrated, when all labourers in a country, or in several countries, will at one and the same time quit work and bring every industry and means of transportation to a standstill until the capitalists give in. Such is still the expectation of many of the working classes; but no sensible person can believe that there will ever, in our range of vision, be such an agreement among the scattered and ill-informed labourers of any but a very small country; and it is plain enough that the strikers would by starvation be brought to their knees much sooner than the capitalists. Moreover, no such strike could be carried into execution without force being exerted by some workers upon others, and it would soon degenerate into a bloody attempt at revolution. In default of this they will practise *sabotage*, and nag capitalists into surrender. This, too, will react worse upon themselves. Not even so much as this is contemplated by our kind-hearted socialists from the upper classes. The process is to be wholly without the employment of force or fraud. "Violence," says Hillquit, "has no place in the socialist programme." [23] So it was described by Bellamy, and though he spoke of a great revolution, he meant a peaceful one.[24] Pressure was to be slowly brought that would make it after a while to the interest of the capitalists voluntarily to hand over their capital,— the pressure of the state's own competition, as had been advised by Louis Blanc and by Lassalle.[25] Only Bellamy, like Bebel, expected the process to begin too soon. The time set has passed, and socialism seems as far away as ever. To-day few socialists attempt to predict exactly when, or how soon, their projects will be realised. At most they say the process has already begun; but the end they refrain from foretelling.

his hopes. The world, he says, "was in sore need of release, and I suppose that nothing less than the violence of those bombs [which singly destroyed whole cities] could have released it and made it a healthy world again," pp. 277–8 (of the New York ed.).

22 Spargo, *Socialism*, 332. He laughs at his own early expectations, 324–5.

23 *Op. cit.*, 103.

24 According to Bellamy "the labour parties, as such, never could have accomplished anything on a large or permanent scale," and "the followers of the red flag" did more harm than good, and were probably subsidised by the opponents of reform, *Looking Backward*, ch. xxiv. This was like a red rag to Bebel, who characterised Bellamy's work as "sugared water" and Bellamy himself as "a benevolent member of the middle class" who could not bear to think of his own class being overthrown by the lower class, and who therefore could not become a true socialist, and was nothing more than a Utopian, *Die Frau*, Preface to the 9th ed.

25 A follower of Lassalle, Hasenklever, had, in fact, already described the gradual formation of "productive associations" and their victorious competition with private enterprises. It is transcribed in Meyer's *Emancipationskampf*, 101–10.

Still, one circumstance raises their hopes: their political party is growing. Rapidly, indeed, has it grown of late in several countries of Europe and in the United States. But it is significant that the party which is thus growing is a political one. It is striving for many minor improvements beneficial to working people and to communities, and to prevent some of the unfairness and corruption practised by corporations. This explains its increase.[26] Things will be different when its really socialistic nature shows itself. For if socialists are ever to gain their end, the time will come when they must decide to cross the Rubicon and attempt to take over all private capital. Vainly is it said that the prior nationalisation of telegraphs and railways and municipalisation of trolleys and lighting plants are preparatory measures. These are natural monopolies, which ought never to have been left to private companies, and they may be taken back with just compensation to their present owners. To take over factories and workshops of every description, all machinery, and all agricultural land and mines and quarries, is something entirely different, as it is to create a monopoly, where no monopoly existed or ought to have existed before, and it must be done without compensation; for to give full compensation would belie the socialist principle and spoil its aim, since the capitalists would still be capitalists; and partial and temporary compensation, given only to the richest, would be merely a slight *douceur* to placate the most powerful opponents and disarm their opposition,[27] and probably would have very little success at that. When this stage shall be reached, the political party of the socialists will probably be abandoned by most of its adherents, continuing to be supported only by those who expect to be beneficiaries of the expropriation and appropriation and by the theorists who believe that all will be benefitted thereby. Hence there ought to be little apprehension from the growth of the socialist party as it is now proceeding. This party is little more than the radical wing of the democratic party. It should be feared only by the crass conservatives who dread any kind of innovation.

One hope of the socialists is placed on the divisions existing in the ranks of their opponents and on their own concert.[28] Whatever may be the division among the opponents, the advocates of

26 *Cf.* Lecky, *Democracy and Liberty*, ii. 337–8.

27 The absurdity of compensation is well shown by Bellamy, *Equality*, 374–6. It "will not worry us so very much," says Gronlund, *op. cit.*, 130 (yet he allows it, 148–9 and in *The New Economy*, 33). "The socialists are not much concerned about this issue," Hillquit, *op. cit.*, 104. Spargo would allow it in the case of great concerns like the Steel Trust, later to be taxed away, *Socialism*, 333–7. For a good account of the socialist attitude on this question, see G. Brooks, *American Syndicalism*, ch. xv.

28 So Bebel, *Die Frau*, 225, 322n. The definiteness of the socialist programme is conceded by Brooks, *The Social Unrest*, 265.

socialism are as little unanimous as well can be. They are united, to be sure, on the great main issues of their creed, but on the details they have as many opinions as there are sides that can be taken. Their fundamental agreement is sufficient while they are ony a party without power; but if their cause should ever become imminently practical, then the details would of necessity require to be filled in, and the disagreement of opinion concerning them which now exists would lead to dissension of passion and conflict in acts. Some of the details would, in fact, become the most important questions of all. Especially these two: who are to own the expropriated capital? and how are the products to be distributed among the owners? To put off the decision of these questions beyond the seizure is to invite a quarrel over the spoils. A warning should be taken from what recently happened in the Balkans, where the allies fell out after their victory because they had not beforehand settled the question what they were going to do with their conquests. But the socialists have not been able to make up their minds on the above two questions, and probably never will be able, because their own principles and the nature of things provide no consistent answer.

In order not to win our point too easily, let us not dwell on the resistance which the classes to be expropriated will make to any attempt to introduce full socialism, and which, instead of being diminished, will be increased by the growth of trusts and the wide ramification of their share-holding and the immensely concentrated power of their directorates. Let us also not dwell on the fact that the most intelligent of the lower classes are as competent to take as good care of themselves under present conditions as they would be likely to get under socialism, and the allied phenomenon, the constant defection of the labourers' leaders as they rise in the economic scale, join the strata above, and leave the lower classes in a headless state,[29] except for the "intellectuals" from the upper classes, whom the labourers distrust. Let us rather suppose that these difficulties have been overcome, and having won their first victory by destroying the present system, the socialists are on the point of setting up and imposing their own system,— what is it to be? Capital is expropriated from its present owners, but who are to appropriate it? The collectivity, says the general theory. But what is the collectivity? The working people, say the working people. They are the great body of the people — ninety-six *per cent.* of them, said Lassalle, who also transplanted Sieyès's assertion from the third to the fourth estate, that they, though now treated as nought, ought to be recognised as

29 *Cf.* Brooks, *The Social Unrest*, 3–4, *American Syndicalism*, 98–9.

the whole.[30] Very naturally to the hand-labouring and wage-earning classes the most attractive idea is that they themselves are going to own the capital they are using — the capital which they say they, the labourers, have produced. This is the object constantly held before the labourers by their organisations and their orators.[31] "We workmen," an English Syndicalist is quoted as saying, "will know better how to organise production, if we only succeed in getting rid of you, the capitalist pest."[32] He can only mean that they will organise and manage it better for themselves; but there is reason to believe they will act like Samson in pulling the roof down that covers them, although, unlike him, they will do so while believing they are going to make it give better shelter. But how will they set about it? Are the work people of each factory to own that factory, and so in every individual case?[33] Or are the workers in any general industry to own the establishments of that industry in common,[34] or companies being formed for the purpose?[35] Or are simply all working people to own all land and capital? This is the more usual demand, that of "collective" ownership, without any definition of the collection, seemingly for the very reason it is the most general and indefinite. But it, too, will require to be made particular and definite before it can be applied.

All working people, then, are to own all the sources and instru-

30 *Gesamtwerke*, i. 174.

31 Thus the Industrial Workers of the World (the I. W. W.) in the Preamble adopted in their fourth convention expressed themselves: "The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. . . . Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organise as a class, take possession of the machinery of production, and abolish the wage-system. . . . It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism. The army of production must be organised . . . to carry on production when capital shall be overthrown. By organising industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old," quoted by Brooks, *American Syndicalism*, 86–7. For other quotations from these and other workers to the same effect, see in that work pp. 79, 129, 151–2, 190–1, 195–6.

32 Copied by Brooks from quotations in American I. W. W. literature, *op. cit.*, 195.

33 Thus Brooks quotes agitators at certain strikes telling the workers that "that mill" was rightly theirs, *op. cit.*, 209, 210, 237. This, of course, is the aim of the anarchists. Thus after the outbreak of the present war in Europe, early in 1915, an *International Anarchist Manifesto on the War* was issued in London, advising the outcasts of society that "they should not part with their arms until they have settled accounts with their oppressors, until they have taken land and factory and workshop for themselves," reprinted in Mother Earth, New York, May, 1915.

34 Brooks quotes Odon Por as recommending the revolution-aim "The railways for the railwaymen," *op. cit.*, 198. Gronlund would have "every distinct branch of industry," trade, and profession, formed into a distinct trades union, "managing its internal affairs itself, but subject to collective control," *Co-operative Commonwealth*, 194. ("The great achievement of the coming commonwealth will be . . . to make the working classes the organic power of society," 184.)

35 So at the Congress of the International at Brussels in 1868, a committee report recommended that "the quarries, coal and other mines, as well as the railroads, should belong to the social collectivity, represented by the state," which would give them "not to the capitalists, as at present, but to the workingmen's societies;" and the arable land "should be given to agricultural companies, as the mines to mining companies, the railroads to workingmen's companies," while canals, roads, telegraph lines, and forests "should remain as the collective property of the society," in Villetard's *History of the International*, 115, *cf.* 117.

ments of production which working people work with or have made. But as, under socialism, all people whatsoever, except the young, the old, and the incapable, are to be made into working people, and as all the old at least, if not the young and the imbecile, are to be treated on an equality with the workers, this means that practically all the adult and sane people (not ninety-six, but one hundred *per cent.* of them) are to be the owners — the public at large, absolutely the whole collectivity. But now, apart from the above questions about the internal division of the ownership, certain political considerations necessarily enter in, that are based on questions of geographical distribution. The people are to be the owners in common — the people as forming a body, a collection. But what bodies or collections of people are there to be? Are the common owners of all the land and of all that is on the land to be a village, a township, a city, a province or state, a nation, a race covering a continent, or the whole population of the earth, the whole world? Unless the last, there is still property owned by some to the exclusion of others.[36] The principle of socialism is that all human beings have equal rights, and to equal things; upon which is based the demand that all should be treated alike, all should have the same opportunity to labour, all should be required to perform the same amount of labour, and all should receive the same reward. The principle is world-wide: how then can there be any local divisions?[37] The world-wide principle is the ideal for the future, it may be replied: still, continuing necessity sets certain limitations.[38] But present necessity does not define the limitations, and socialists are left adrift as to whether they shall be centralisers or decentralisers, nationalists or communists. In either case their principle of equality comes to grief. A people occupying and owning one region may possess more fertile soil, more prolific mines, more convenient routes of conveyance, than a people occupying and owning another region, so that for the same amount of labour the reward in articles of consumption distributed to all equally in the former region may be much greater than that obtained in the latter. Should not the richer people then share their greater wealth with the poorer? If they attempt to do so in this case, they must attempt to do so in all, yielding to the still poorer, and exacting from the still richer;

36 *Cf.* W. Cooke Taylor, criticising the Owenites: "It is a mere delusion, if not a downright fraud, to talk about the abolition of private property, when at most it is only proposed to transfer the right of property from an individual to an association," *The Natural History of Civilisation*, i. 75.

37 So of old Owen. Fourier advised placing the world-capital at Constantinople. Wells places it above Brissago among the Alps, *The World Set Free*, 149–50, 174, 215, 247.

38 *Cf.* Bellamy, *Looking Backward*, 141–2.

and the complete operation would amount to the formation of a world-state, which has been admitted to be at present impracticable, and which will not be practicable until transportation be made many times more rapid and cheaper than it now is. If they refuse to do so, has not the poorer people a right, on socialist principles, to demand it, and on the revolutionary principles of most socialists, to compel its demand by force or by pressure of some sort. Or another mode of adjustment may be resorted to: individuals from the poor region may migrate and settle in the richer region, and join the body of owners of that region, being admitted into sharing in the ownership. Under widely adopted socialism a considerable tendency might be expected to such migrations in search of better conditions. It would be the best way also of correcting the disproportionate populations of different regions, the overcrowded ejecting their surplus upon the underpeopled. But will the occupiers of the richest regions consent to admit every one from everywhere — men of different races, too, possibly? Will the inhabitants of our Pacific coast, for instance, again open their ports to the coolies of China, and having formerly refused them admission merely as wage-earners, will they now welcome them as co-partners and co-owners of all their wealth? If they do, what security have they that the Chinese will not overwhelm them and reorganise the country, reducing them perhaps to wage-earners? If they do not, what title can they show to their exclusive ownership of that favored region? Will they not be favourites of fortune, contrary to their principle, which demands the correction of nature's unfairness? Moreover, if they or other inhabitants of rich and populous regions do not admit immigrants freely (for apart from racial considerations there are economic conditions that make it undesirable to admit outsiders [39]), what is to prevent the people of less favoured or overpopulated regions, whether socialists or not, from coveting their

39 Such is the condition of old countries, where natural sources of supplies are already fully drawn upon, and which have reached the period of what economists call "diminishing returns," where additional numbers, though their labour makes addition to the aggregate wealth, yet does not do so in the same proportion, so that the average wealth is diminished. Yet it may be to the interest of the poor from a country in a still worse condition to go to such a country. It is only a country like our own up till recently, where additional numbers, by combining their labour, and having abundance of natural sources to work upon, increase the average wealth, that newcomers are positively welcome. But before many centuries, if not decades, no such countries will be left in the world, provided there be no setback to progress, as socialists believe there will not be. Already Pearson thinks it a great advantage of the socialistic state that it can regulate the population by excluding outsiders, whereas in our régime the capitalists admit them to keep down wages, *Ethic of Freethought*, 319–20, 323–4, 423–4, *Chances of Death*, i. 137–8. One of the first acts of the labourers of Paris, when they came into power in 1848, was to expel foreign workmen: see Chevalier, *Lettres sur l'Organisation du Travail*, Paris, 1848, pp. 3, 4–5. Gronlund positively advocates such a course for our country, and justifies it by a new "higher ethics," as it would be necessary for the establishment of "a model polity," *The New Economy*, 142–5.

land and attacking them? Furtherfore, even if socialism were adopted everywhere throughout the world, it is certain that it would not be carried out so perfectly in some regions as in others, that is, it would in some regions be carried out imperfectly, it would work badly, and the people there would be discontented, and might revert to fighting. Or those who do make a good use of their own territory might wish to deprive those who do not of theirs, which, according to the arch-socialist More, they would have a right to do.[40] And if socialism is not adopted everywhere at once, fighting nations or races would be left over, who, for the same just (if this be allowed) or for another unjust reason, might attack them from the outside. It is seen, therefore, that socialism does not get rid of causes of contention, since it does not, and cannot, get rid of inequality, leaving it between region and region, or between people and people, as nature has arranged.[41]

This continued liability to warfare in spite of the best that socialists can do, ought to settle their dispute between communism and nationalism. The term "communism" is allied etymologically more directly with "commune" than with "common." In the smallest political divisions (townships, which in Latin countries are called communes), the citizens may hold their land in common, or may go further and also put their produce in common and share it equally.[42] The latter is perfect communism; but the former is socialistic communism (or communardism). Communism of this sort is desired by the socialists that advocate decentralisation. Bebel, following Engels is a good specimen. He considers the state merely a machine run by the upper classes for the preservation of private property or capitalism,[43] so that in doing away with such property and with those classes, socialism does away with the state, whose first proper act is also its last act. In its place is to be set a mere administration or directorate

40 "They [the Utopians] count this the most just cause of war, when any people holdeth a piece of ground void and vacant to no good nor profitable use, keeping other[s] from the use and possession of it, which [who] notwithstanding by the law of nature ought thereby to be nourished and relieved," *Utopia*, 90. It is the same principle as the socialists adopt in refusing to permit any individual landowner to continue to hold his land in idleness and exclude others from using it.

41 Hence the fatuity of the assertion attributed to the labour-leader Eugene V. Debs: "When the working people own this country and other countries, there will be no war," in The New York Times, March 8, 1917.

42 Thus, for instance, the tribe of the Vaccaei among the Celtiberians in Spain, according to Diodorus (V. 34, 3), redistributed their land every year, and divided the crop equally, punishing with death those who held anything back (as Ananias and Sapphira were treated).

43 For this he has some justification in the principles of so-called liberalism, or the party principles of the middle classes, first most completely and explicitly enunciated by Locke, who said "the chief end of government is the preservation of property," and even that "government has no other end," (but who under the term "property" included "lives, liberties, and estates"), *Of Civil Government*, §§ 85, 94; 123, *cf.* 173. *Cf.* also Linguet: laws "are designated primarily to insure property rights," *Théorie des Lois civiles, ou Principes fondamentaux de la Société*, 1767, p. 195.

of the processes of production, which, considerably centralised however, will rest upon the communes, where all the men and women will participate in the elections for the central directorate and in the management of their own affairs.[44] What the central committee is, that is, how large a circle of communes it represents, whether it is confined to or transcends present boundaries, leaving nationalities intact,[45] is nowhere described, though he even speaks of " distant provinces." [46] But the communes are to extend everywhere, and in them, and between them, is to reign equality and brotherly love. Now, Bebel knew very well that such communes, in the form of clans or tribes, were the primitive divisions of mankind,[47] and that within them, though not between them, there reigned communism of property, equality (of a sort), and brotherly love (also of a sort, for mutual protection). He therefore described socialism as leading mankind finally back to its starting point — to its primitive communism before private property and its guardian state were thought of.[48] Reactionism of the most radical kind seems therefore to have been his creed. It is Rousseau's love of barbarism and of small societies still outcropping. Rousseau's views were shared by many political writers of his time — by Helvetius, for example, and by Condorcet and other revolutionaries. Attempts were made in the French revolution to introduce such an organisation of the nation based on self-managing communes; but the logic of events prevented. Prior to that, it had been introduced into some of our North American colonies at first, only to be abandoned after very brief experience of its inconvenience. From France the Channel was crossed, and Godwin advocated such a constitution of society.[49] It reappears wherever socialism appears. Our own socialist Spargo rejoices in repeating that according to Morgan and other sociologists mankind lived under communism for ninety-five thousand years, and invented the potter's wheel, the lever, the sail, and the loom (all which is questionable), beside the cultivation of cereals, the domestication of animals, and the smelting of some metals.[50] Yet small and rudimentary was the progress during those ninety-five thousand years compared with the progress since the institution of private property and of the state within the last five thousand

44 *Die Frau*, 263–4, 316–17 (see above p. 16n.); 294; 267–8.
45 But some socialists speak of destroying nationalities: *e.g.*, *The Manifesto of the Socialist League*, p. 3.
46 *Die Frau*, 296.
47 It was taught him by his master, Marx, *Zur Kritik der politischen Oekonomie*, 9n., 30, (of the 2d ed., also p. xix, published later), *Capital*, i. 366–7, *cf.* 386n., iii. 968.
48 *Die Frau*, 347, 348, *cf.* 268, 296.
49 *Political Justice*, VI. vii.
50 *Socialism*, 97, 101. See L. H. Morgan's *Ancient Society*, 38–9, where the assumption is made of a round hundred thousand years of man's existence upon the earth.

years. "The history," says Maine, of several property and of civilisation "cannot be disentangled." [51]

Verily, communism has been tried, and it has failed. Everywhere it has either been abandoned or it has given occasion, not only to slothfulness and backwardness,[52] but to oppression and anarchy. Rarely was this condition peaceful. The communes of the barren regions invaded the rich regions: the highlanders regularly raided the lowlanders. When this condition came to an end, it came to an end because some of the communes turned conquering into a trade. Several united and, becoming more powerful than their neighbours, adopted the system of protecting from other raiders the communes that submitted to them and paid them tribute, with so much benefit that others applied of their own accord for protection, offering tribute. In this way various ruling centres were established in distant regions, and, growing outwardly, came into contact with one another as states or nations. There is no reason why the same process would not be repeated, if the world again adopted communism. The majority of the communes might be moral and peace-loving, but if one set of ruffians should remain, they might ride rough-shod over all the rest, and the more readily, the more peace-loving the rest were. There are, however, some regions where remnants of such primitive communism still exist, to wit Russia and India; and there it has permitted the people to be oppressed by others, in India by outsiders, in Russia by its own government. In Russia the *mirs,* or communes, are self-governing little republics of peasants, managing their affairs in common. Above them till the other day was the most tyrannous government of nobles the world has ever known, culminating in an autocrat modelled on the degenerate Byzantine emperor. Such tyranny was permitted because of the lack of power which the system of innumerable petty and distinct communes necessarily entailed. It gave rise to the doctrine of anarchy as the remedy for such oppression, because in Russia it was this superior government of the state that was desired to be got rid of, not the little governments, which are hardly called such, of the peasants themselves. Elsewhere a similar movement, going not so far, yet opposes patriotism, and incites to internationalism or cosmopolitanism, indulging in gushing sentimentality about humanity.[53] Rid of any superior or national government,

51 *Village-Communities in the East and West,* 230.

52 Thus Arnold Toynbee quotes Arthur Young and others to the effect that in England "the common or open field system" kept agriculture in a wretched condition, and that improvement followed upon enclosures, *The Industrial Revolution of the Eighteenth Century in England,* 15, 69 (of the cheap ed.).

53 Laveleye (*Le Socialisme contemporain,* 204–5n.) quotes an extravagant example, from an article in La Revolution politique et social, April 16, 1871, by Jules Nostag:

the men of free spirit would be able to hover about between the little communes, unhampered by any inter-commune law like our inter-state acts. But the dissolution of any present state into such communes would only expose them to be subjugated by some other external power, or by some power arising amongst themselves, as above described. As we have seen further back, such little communities, like the city-states of old, can be safely formed only when the defence is stronger than the attack,— only when iron is rare and dear, and when stone ramparts, and even mud walls, afford protection. And that condition will arrive again only after the decline of our civilisation has well set in. Meanwhile, reliance upon a morality that does not exist and is not likely to exist, is futile. Our own morality cannot save: whether there shall be warfare depends on the morality of others. And the fighting spirit and the spirit of rapine are still too strong in men — and in women too, who will urge their men on. Yet in a world in which men do steal and murder individually and collectively, the socialists, each set in their own country, would deliberately weaken and enervate their own nation, and in so doing expose it to bullying and to conquest at the hands of other nations.[54] They do not even perceive that fighting is just as likely to take place between small communities as between large communities, and if in the former case it be on a smaller scale, this will be made up for by greater frequency. Or if brotherly love may keep small communities from fighting, it may equally well, and no better, be relied upon to keep large states from fighting. Not till morality be perfect in others as well as in oneself (and in oneself as well as in others), will fighting cease.

The communistic socialists of to-day, however, are not the mere communists (or communards) of old: they intend to have a confederation of the communes, represented by a general assembly of delegates. But what the extent, what the duties, and especially what the authority of the confederation, or confederations, are to

"La patrie, un mot, un erreur! L'humanité, un fait une vérité . . . Les peuples sont frères . . . La France est morte. L'humanité la remplace . . . Notre patrie est partout où l'on vit livre, où l'on travaille." Laveleye compares with the last the "ubi bene, ibi patria" of our upper-class world-trotters: *cf.* above, i. 115n. Yesterday in our country Mr. Debs has written: "I have no country to fight for; my country is the earth; I am a citizen of the world," in the Appeal to Reason, Girard, Kansas, Sept. 11, 1915. He is still merely following Marx and Engels, who in their *Communist Manifesto*, Part II., said, "Workmen have no country." Forel would lay down the great commandment to be: "Thou shalt love humanity more than thyself," *The Sexual Question*, 454. He is here coupling the strongest of sentiments with a very diluted and weak idea. A better adaptation of sentiments to ideas or things, would be to tell people to respect humanity, work for the welfare of their country, be friendly to their neighbours, and love their relatives and companions.

54 Thus Bax: "The foreign policy of the great international socialist party must be to break up these hideous race monopolies, called empires, beginning in each case at home," *The Religion of Socialism*, 126. *Cf.* above, p. 9, n. 18.

be, they have little to say: these things are to be decided when the time comes. We in the United States, however, know that confederations are weak; and especially weak would be one whose only function is to serve as an administer of business: little could it contribute to the defence of the communes, if some on the outskirts were attacked by their outside neighbours, or to the settlement of internal disputes, if the communes came to blows amongst themselves, or if one, or a few combining, began to arm for the conquest of their surrounding neighbours. To obviate this defect, the centralisers come forward, who would have the nation regarded as the unit. In our country they would go even further than our unionists, and would obliterate our States. "The co-operative commonwealth," says Gronlund, "will only know of a Nation, with a big, very big N." [55] Still our country would be left with something like a thousand counties, and unless care were taken to give them nothing but political power, they would be communes and would interfere with the centralisation.[56] There would also be crossings of power, if trades and professions were permitted to regulate themselves, as for instance a railway management might extend from New York to San Francisco. Various would be the bodies of men whose interests would clash before it could be settled where power, and where ownership, should reside. Or let the nation be the sole owner, its ownership would be only titular, like that of the English king, unless its representative, the national assembly, took over the management of everything.

This central power would have to use authority, backed up by force, to constrain the local divisions or communes to do what they ought to do were they autonomous,— for instance, to admit strangers from elsewhere, or if the migrating of individuals were carried to excess or to the injury of some communes, it might have to forbid migration and coop everybody up in his own commune, as the English poor, when in danger of needing the poor-law relief, were confined to their own parishes, or as More's Utopians were supposed to be restricted to their own precincts and permitted to wander beyond the borders only with special license from the prince.[57] All sorts of regulations would, in fact, have to be enacted or decreed, so that socialism has become almost synonymous with a tendency to enlarge the functions of government.[58]

55 *Co-operative Commonwealth*, 176.

56 It is significant that Vail, who followed Gronlund in most details even on the subject of government, yet said: "All socialists work for the decentralisation of government. . . . Local self-government is their watchword," *Modern Socialism*, 70.

57 *Utopia*, 96. That was written long before the foolish poor-laws with their law of settlement; but there was a model for it in the law of 12 Richard II., which was an equally unjust law made by the upper classes for their own benefit.

58 This is admitted by Gronlund, who wrote: "The growth of state activity is the true rationale of socialism," *op. cit.*, 107. Socialism, however, is so defined mostly

Notwithstanding the declarations of many socialists to the contrary,[59] its performance must have a trend toward despotism, irksome to men of self-reliant feeling and repressive of full development.[60] There would on the part of the governed be evasion and resistance; and who knows whether the people in this or that nation will ever allow such regulations, necessary for the success of socialism, to be enacted or enforced? And on the part of the governors, it is quite conceivable that they might not have the capacity to execute so immense a job, even if they tried with the best intentions. But what guarantee is there that from the beginning or after a while they would exert their best endeavours to conduct things properly and justly for the equal interest and benefit of everybody? Might they not try to manage things for their own advantage? Enormous power would be placed in their hands, and immense temptation. Quite possible is it that we should have the whole gamut of governmental corruption over again, involving tyranny, and perhaps one of its natural consequences, rebellion.

This result would be reached not only because of the difficulties connected with the geographical distribution of ownership and power, but because of the difficulties involved in the other question raised above, as to the guiding principle by which the power is to be regulated, that is, as to how the products of the common labour are to be divided among the common owners of the land and the capital.

First of all come the different demands: by some that the distribution shall be equal to all, by others that it shall be in proportion to every one's needs, by others again that it shall be in proportion to the work performed, measured, according to some, by time and according to others, by efficiency. When the day arrives that one or another of these systems must be adopted instead of being merely discussed, will there not be quarrelling over the selection? Especially between the first and the last, division of

by its opponents, as by F. A. Walker, *Political Economy*, §§ 625, 630, 631. *Cf.* H. George, *The Condition of Labour*, 55. (*Works*, iii.).

59 *E.g.*, Bellamy, *Looking Backward*, 116–17; and Spargo, who expects social authority to be reduced to a minimum, *Socialism*, 284, *cf.* 293 as to marriage.

60 This has been proved up to the hilt by Spencer in his essay *From Freedom to Bondage*, which has never been refuted by a socialist, although a weak reply to his expanded *The Coming Slavery* was essayed by Frank Fairman in a short pamphlet entitled *Herbert Spencer on Socialism*, London, 1884, in which little more is done than hurl against Spencer the earlier and cruder views of his *Social Statics*. The only socialists who actually expected to realise their scheme were the conspirators under Babeuf in 1797, and they prepared their constitution in advance. Some of its articles may be found in Sudre's *Histoire du Communisme*, 302–3. Among them the Supreme Administration was to have authority to send the workers from one locality to another and to provide for a deficit in one region by taking from the superfluity in another. Only in sexual matters, as we have seen, would liberty be allowed, and there to excess,— as a sort of compensation for the absence of it in economic matters.

interest will show itself; for the lazy and incompetent will demand equality of income, or at least payment of labour measured by time; while the active and energetic, who know that most of what is accomplished will be their work, will desire inequality and payment of labour to be measured by efficiency. Who will decide? — the majority? Then it may be decided one way in one commune, and another in another; or must it be a majority of a country? Then one country may decide it one way and another another; or must it be a majority throughout all the confederated socialistic countries, in some international assembly? And suppose the majority be small, and the minority, feeling sore, be inclined to be recalcitrant? Moreover, how about the non-workers — the young, the old, and the incapable? It is easy now for the socialists to be good and kind in advance, and to say that these will be treated like children, like parents, like brothers, and will be given the same income as the workers, or at least all that they need. But when the time comes for the workers, in whom the real power shall reside, to make the sacrifice, will they do it to the full extent of the generous plan they now promise? And will the workers — the middle-aged competent ones, upon whom the burden of society shall really rest,— will they admit the aged non-workers, the *emeriti,* who are retired and pensioned, to take part in the direction of the distribution? Bellamy would have the retired old men and women make the appointments of officers and directors, copying the system of some of our colleges, where, in fact, the *alumni* often are the supporters of the institution by their benefactions and patronage. But Bebel would have the workers do all the appointing or electing.[61] The former method might yield better results; but does it appear so just to those who are doing the work, and would they submit to it? Should the beneficiaries control the benefactors?

If these difficulties be settled, there will come the difficulties of measurements. Some kind of money of account may be employed. Then if incomes are to be equal, it will be simple enough to put to every one's credit every year the same number of monetary units. The question will then be confined to the prices of the products. Now prices are determined by the supply and the demand in the market, with the result that in any kind of article a given supply is taken off by the greatest number of those who desire it most and have other articles to give for it, and in the case of articles the supply of which may be varied the greatest supply is produced up to a point beyond which more could be gained by producing something else. This at least is the case except as it

61 See above, p. 25, n. 31.

be interfered with by the formation of monopolies. But in the socialistic system the state, or whatever be the common owner, is one big monopolist of all things, and its setting of prices can only be artibrary. The socialists hold that the only principle for determining prices is the labour-time expended in producing the articles. On this more will be said when the socialist theory comes under review. Here be it noted that in many articles inferior qualities take just as much time and labour to produce as do superior qualities, such as the good and bad apples from the same of neighbouring orchards, or the good and bad wine from the same or neighbouring vineyards. If no difference of price be set upon them, it will be a matter of chance who gets the best, or those who have the luck of being the nearest will have the first choice. Perhaps some of these with less fastidious taste will exchange their given amount for a larger amount of the inferior, and thus get more than those who are left with the original amount of the inferior. This is precisely what now happens in the case of all the produce from the land, and is the cause of rent, so much decried by the socialists. Also in the case of different kinds of articles, cost of production is a false standard, as we do not value a work of art and a factory product in proportion to the amount of labour spent upon them. If this proportion be forcibly applied to them, it will have the effect of hindering the production of the articles underrated. This result will be most prominent if the system be adopted of measuring reward by labour and requiring every one to labour the same time; which is one of the schemes. Gronlund, it is true, emphatically declares that "our commonwealth leaves everybody at perfect liberty to work as much or as little as he pleases, or not at all, but makes his consumption exactly commensurate with his performances."[62] But elsewhere the same Gronlund, after stating that four hours a day of labour from everybody would produce enough to enable every one to live in comfort, asks "why should anybody then object to being restrained from working more than six or four hours a day?"[63] It would, indeed be contrary to the socialist demand for equality to permit any one to work eight or twelve hours a day at a remunerative occupation, when the state has settled upon four as sufficient, as that would enable some persons to earn and to possess double and treble what the rest have, and would lead to their acquiring more consideration and power in the state than others. The socialists, therefore, are almost unanimous in the opinion that the state, or what takes its place, should regulate the hours of

62 *Co-operative Commonwealth*, 110.
63 *Op. cit.*, 121.

remunerative employment, after which everybody may work or not at his own favourite occupation or hobby.

We have already touched on this subject,[64] but a few more remarks may be made. A man with talent for painting, it is admitted, may do his four-hour stunt of manual labour every day, by which he earns the living the state gives him, and after that he may paint pictures to his heart's content. But may he sell them? If others admire and are willing to give him some of their possessions, or some of their money of account, or claim upon the common store, in exchange for his by-products, will the state step in here and prevent? If it does not, this man may earn more than do the generality of men, and here we have inequality again. If it does prevent such exchanges for money or for articles of comfort, it can hardly prevent a painter from exchanging his superfluous paintings for a sculptor's superfluous statues, for a musician's music, for the fine productions of other artists, so that talented men will form a clique possessing much better things among themselves than ordinary men do. Or if the state goes on and forbids all exchanges, and if it be expected that the painter in question shall give his paintings away, make them in the first place for the common halls, or keep on making them for himself only or for his friends, the expectation that many men with talent will be prolific and will carry their skill to a high proficiency, is probably doomed to disappointment. Socialists are fond of declaiming upon the advantages of their system in giving leisure and encouragement for the cultivation of the arts and sciences; but it is a strange kind of encouragement which takes away the opportunity of profiting by excellence.

Then suppose it is decided that incomes shall be different, allowance being made for different efficiency of labour, as intended by some of our socialists. Still this plan has reference mostly to the different efficiency of the manual workers in the public workshops, and includes at most the difference between manual labour in general and the mental labour of the directors of industry, all engaged on their enforced daily task of producing for what Godwin called "the general bank of common advantage."[65] The same difficulty about the disposal of work done outside these hours, and the suppression of the extra remuneration of the unusual excellence of genius will still continue, and there will be added the further difficulty of measuring the relative efficiency of the actually producing work of the hands and of the planning and directing work of the head. This difficulty we have already noticed, and

64 Above, p. 40.
65 *Political Justice*, V. vi.

have seen it to be insuperable.[66] Only some arbitrary scheme can be adopted, which, if it underrates the worth of head-work, we have seen to be frought with great danger to the continuance of civilisation.[67] Here the point is that, there being no norm to decide the standard, there will be dispute and dissension between prospective hand-workers and head-workers, which perhaps will never be permanently settled, or will be settled differently in different parts of the socialist world, with different effects upon the prosperity of the parts. There will not be the plain sailing the socialists profess to anticipate.

Now, if all these difficulties be overcome and some plan be settled upon, will there be the happy results that are promised? The labouring classes are egged on with the bait dangled before their eyes, that when they are emancipated from capitalistic control and become the sole class and sole owner of the whole state and all its land and capital, they will then receive the whole product of their labour, with *only*[68] a slight deduction to pay the running expenses of the central administration. Some socialists have even placed this deduction at no higher a figure than five *per cent.*,[69] which is favourably contrasted with the estimate roundly made by Marx and commonly accepted by his followers, that now they are mulcted of half the value they create. But under socialism itself there will have to be deducted from the products turned out by the so-called "workingmen" or "labourers," the manual operatives, enough to support not only the central administrators and census-takers, but also the administrators of each farm, mine, and factory,— the clerks and care-takers, etc., also the carters and other distributors, including railway hands and all the running expenses of railways, steamboats, telegraphs, and the like; not only these, but by the workmen actually turning out consumable goods must be supported the workmen and their managers (engineers, architects, etc.) engaged in replacing old and producing new capital, as in constructing railways, bridges, cars, locomotives, ships, docks, factories and their machinery, public buildings, etc.; beside these, also the young and the old and the crippled or disabled and the insane and their guardians, nurses, pregnant women and recent mothers, and the educators — school-teachers, college professors, as well as scientists engaged in research, physicians and surgeons, let alone clergymen, if their occupation is to be

66 Above, p. 21.
67 Above, pp. 23–4.
68 Spargo, *Socialism*, 315.
69 *Cf.* Gronlund, *op. cit.*, 154, 143, 153. Gronlund expected to get most of the public revenue from rent, or the surplus product of exceptionally good land. Still this will mean that those who work on that land will not get the whole, or anywhere near the whole, of their produce. Hasenklever put the limit as high as ten *per cent.*, in Meyer's *Emancipationskampf*, 107.

retained, for lawyers at least will be mostly dispensed with. If, as Bellamy expected, the labour-life of workmen were to be only twenty-four years, this is but half a life-time; wherefore every workman, while actually working, would have to support another person in idleness, in order that when he is idling another may support him, as each one must replace what was expended on him when a child, and prepare for what is to be expended on him when retired. Evidently the deductions from every farmer, miner, and factory hand, will amount to considerably more than fifty *per cent.*, and therefore equal what Marx and his followers complain of. Moreover, if, as Marx and some socialists admit, the labourers must be paid according to their efficiency, and the efficiency of the so-called non-productive professions, such as teaching, designing, and supervising, is recognised as higher than that of the manual labourers engaged in the actual work of production, these latter will find themselves still at the bottom of the scale, and their lot will be so very little improved over what it is at present, that they will be all the more discontented because of the deception that has been practised upon them. All this is even on the supposition that socialism is working well. It is true that much of the deduction will come back to the hand-workers in public benefits and future support. But to recognise this requires in the mass the faculty of thrift, prevision, and perseverence, which is lacking in so many individuals. It is more likely, then, that productive labourers will resist such deductions, and taking the whole or most of their products for themselves, will not leave over enough for the managing part of the society, while the beneficiary part (the young, the aged, and the incapable) will go in want. Capital will not be sufficiently renewed, and when the old is used up, the labourers will find themselves appreciably nearer to the state of nature again. Or if the productive labourers are kept in restraint, their principal gain will be that of security; they must be supplied with work, and if not, they must still be supported, as well as are those who are provided with work. But this fact is just what will render work indifferent to them, and so little will be produced that all will likewise before long be reduced to poverty. The mutual recriminations and disputes that will ensue, will only hasten the decline into misery.

Even apart from this, when the new society is once instituted, what guarantee is there that the work will be done and the distribution carried out as intended? In a minor point, if remuneration be denied to the private work done outside the hours devoted to the public, will there not be the same tendency to underhand evasion, itself fraudulent, and leading to contempt of law, as exists

to-day when many governmental regulations are not observed? As for the public work, on the tendency to shirk labour on the part of the manual labourers, we have already commented.[70] But on the part of the mental workers, who plan and direct, beside a tendency to shirk their jobs manifested by some, will there not be in others a tendency to succumb to the temptation of profiting by their position to divert advantage to themselves? For instance, those superintending the distribution — what is to prevent them from distributing more to themselves and their friends than to others, or from seeing to it that their enemies get the least? A democratic system of government is relied upon by some, including the recall of all officials upon suspicion of ill behaviour, to be effected by the votes of those who are affected by it. No doubt much good can be accomplished by this measure, but experience shows that it is in no wise adequate. Political parties, we have seen,[71] cannot exist in a socialist state already established (established by one triumphant party,— such is the supposition); but they can exist while such a state is in process of establishing, and political factions may also exist afterward. There may be cliques and rings and cabals, which by intrigue and intimidation keep a corrupt official in office. If the attempt be made to introduce socialism now, among peoples as they now show themselves to be, it is certain there will be such corruption at first, and there may very well be so much of it as to frustrate the effort to carry the scheme through. This is a return to the argument of the last chapter, but it is necessary to repeat it here. In all probability socialism will go to pieces in the attempt to introduce it. The socialists will, like Samson, to repeat the illustration, pull down the temple of civilisation over their heads, and will not be able to reconstruct it. Or, to vary the simile, they will be like the African slaves described by Mérimée,[72] on the ship whose sailors they had massacred in an uprising to escape from their chains, and who then perished, amid revelry and in despair, because they knew not how to guide the helm.

Vain, then, will be the great reliance upon which socialists rest their claim to practicalness, since it will not have an opportunity to come into play. For socialists maintain that their system will take away all inducement to evil-mindedness, all incitement to strife, all temptation to fraud, and driving out competition will introduce co-operation, and excluding hatred will leave nothing but brotherly love. Such indeed is their aim, but they look beyond

70 Above, pp. 22–3.
71 Above, p. 17.
72 In his story of *Tamango*.

their means. Their means, their first act, is to expropriate present owners and to hand over their land and capital into the control of the working people. Certainly this is not a proper method to improve these people's morals. Perhaps, then, they think that good morals may come at least in the next generation, after socialism has been well established. But socialism cannot be well established without good morals in the first place. Here is an impassable dilemma for the advocates of revolution. Admit, as some moderate socialists do, that "without a great moral advance socialism may be regarded as impracticable,"[73] and you must allow that socialism is not for our time. To avoid this conclusion you must hold that socialism itself will bring about this improvement in morals. This is the position latent in the belief of most socialists, and boldly assumed by Bebel. Bebel, we have seen,[74] derided the idea of morals being improved by the teaching of morality, and asserted that men are to be improved only by improving their condition of existence. This is but a half-truth. "Study the causes of crimes, and remove them," again he says, "and you will remove the crimes also."[75] This is the task all good men have been labouring at for ages, and the socialists are to execute it in a day! But where do they, under this leadership, place the cause of crimes? "All social evils without exception," he tells us, "have their source in the social order of things, that is, in capitalistic private ownership," as it now exists; wherefore this kind of ownership must first of all be removed,[76] with the implication that then no social evils will longer exist.[77] Here is where the fallacy lies; for all social evils do not derive from this one source, and must less do all moral evils, although Rousseau would have had it that these do too, the primal seat of evil being in human nature itself and in the environment to which it has to respond. Bebel's argument, moreover, leads to anarchism, since

73 Kirkup, *Inquiry into Socialism*, 159. Similarly Godwin: "If by positive institution the property of every man were equalised to-day, without a contemporary change in men's dispositions and sentiments, it would become unequal to-morrow," *Political Justice*, VIII. ii.

74 Above, pp. 25–6.

75 *Die Frau*, 234.

76 362–3.

77 Something like this, though not so explicitly stated, was at the bottom of More's reasoning, which he got from Plato, *Utopia*, 67–8. For Plato, see *Republic*, 497E, 501A, about the new city being the opposite of the old. But Plato recognised that such a new city could be constructed only by driving out from the existing state all over ten years of age, and bringing up the young in the new way, 540E–541A. Also Morelly may be cited, who, in 1755, in his *Code de la Nature*, ascribed all vices to avarice, and avarice to the institution of private property, and who held that when this did not exist, none of its pernicious consequences would exist, and it would be "almost impossible for a man to be depraved or wicked," (according to Sudre, *Histoire du Communisme*, 204–6). He was followed by Mably, *Doutes sur l'Ordre naturel*, published in 1768, (Sudre, 217), and by Louis Blanc, who attributed crimes to misery, and misery to competition, and therefore demanded the doing away with competition, (Sudre, 344–5).

it demands only the removal of the cause of evils, not the institution of another cause of good.[78] The cause of good, however, is supposed to be found in the opposite condition of public ownership. But it must be public ownership rightly managed. Here comes in an assumption always implicitly made by socialists. They take for granted that socialism, if once adopted, will run of itself. "Change the social arrangements," again says Bebel, "so that nobody can act unjustly toward his neighbours, and all will be well in the world."[79] But socialism does not take out of the world the power of acting unjustly. At best it merely takes this power from the private capitalists, by abolishing them; but it leaves it in the new owners, who are the people at large. The people at large cannot manage their property, which is everything, themselves. They will have to delegate the management to certain officials. These will have the same power that the managers of property now have. They will, too, be endowed with the political power of the state. Their power for good will be increased, and their power for evil also. Meanwhile nothing has been done at the inauguration of socialism to improve their morals. The first managers will probably be taken from our working classes, who will have ousted the capitalists. But the morals of our working classes are in no wise better than the morals of our capitalists; and they cannot be better, according to Bebel's socialistic principle, since their conditions of existence are not so good.[80] The people would again, as in former revolutions, change masters; and their own mastery of the new masters there is no reason to believe would be better than it has been in the past. Public ownership of all land and capital may be introduced, but the amount of justice in their management that will follow, will be no greater than the amount of justice in the people at the time of its inauguration. At present the amount of justice in the people is nowhere encouraging.

The rejoinder may be made, that a state of public ownership badly managed may be no worse than a state of private ownership badly managed as at present, and may even be better since its basic principle and its aim are better. This reasoning may be controverted, as the principle of equality is not the proper principle, and if the aim of socialism be equality, it too is improper,

78 So positively Godwin, who would leave the establishment of equality to the voluntary action of individuals obeying reason, *Political Justice*, I. iv, III. v. end, V. xiv., xxiv, VIII, iii., iv.

79 *Op. cit.*, 369 n. And Bellamy speaks of "the very possibility of corruption" disappearing with the appearance of "the law of absolute uniformity governing all incomes," *Equality*, 405, as if the new law would enforce itself!

80 Similarly Engels: the workers, being treated as brutes, become such, or are saved only by hatred of the bourgeoisie, *Condition of the Working Class in England*, 76, *cf.* 79, 80, 86, 87.

and if it be to institute justice and give every one his due, that could be more nearly attained by amending the present system than by changing it. The chief criterion must be results, and there can be little doubt that the results of the present system, badly managed as it is, are better than would be the results of socialism badly managed, even if we overlook the upsetting that would take place at the time of the revolution. All that lends a charm to socialism is the contemplation of the happy state of peace and contentment that would ensue on the supposition of its being accurately carried out. It sacrifices much of the good that exists in the present system — the incentive to labour, the joy of success, the satisfaction after attainment, the stimulation to progress of individuals, furthering the progress of all; and if its one good, which is to compensate for all this loss, is not obtained, the society that adopts it will have thrown away its advantages for nothing. We have seen also that socialism contains causes of deterioration even at its best, and these will be still more operative if it do not succeed. There is no need of quoting the old adage about the corruption of the best being the worst. The failure of socialism to succeed will be worse than is at present the system of private ownership, simply because it is not so good a system,— not so practical a means of attaining the aim of moralists: the improvement of the human race and the acquisition of general happiness. Let it not be said that this is a false comparison, on the ground that the system of private ownership has only failed to attain the common aim, and has not failed of self-realisation, which is the charge here brought against socialism as its inevitable fate; for it will be shown by and by that the system of private ownership has not been realised, and many of our evils are due to this failure. And yet our evils are not so great as would be the evils of an adopted but not realised system of socialism, because the perfect model of a system of private ownership would not contain so many deteriorative features as the perfect model of public ownership. The truth is, that the failure of the worse is not so good as the failure of the better.

The melancholy thing about socialism is the deception of generous intentions that would ensue, not only from it if attained, but from the efforts to attain it. Many well-educated, rational, benevolent persons, most of the best of them from the middle and upper classes, from the "intellectuals" despised by those whose benefit they chiefly have at heart, work out what it would in their opinion be good for the masses to do if the powers of government were seized by them. Then they assume that if the powers of government were resigned to them, the masses would do these

things,— carry out the plans which their intelligent well-wishers have planned for them; and they cherish the belief that the happy consequences would then very soon follow. They would, in all probability, be most egregiously deceived. The deception would not come from finding that the consequences do not follow; for there would be no chance. It would come much quicker; for the masses that now exist, or that are likely to exist for centuries to be, would not put into execution a quarter of the schemes excogitated for their benefit, and would do other things that would still sooner lead to ruination.

CHAPTER V.

THE SOCIALIST THEORY IN GENERAL

WHY does anybody desire so impracticable and, as far as attainable, deteriorative a system? Because its advocates have a notion that it will, at least at first (for they do not look far ahead) be better for themselves or for most people than are present conditions, and moreover because they think it is demanded by justice, *pereat mundus*.[1] The notion of its benefit is derived, as we have seen, from the fact that it is the opposite of the existing system, to which all the evils of modern times are attributed. The error of the premise does not disprove the conclusion; but the conclusion has not been supported by other proofs. On the contrary, it has been amply shown that there will be no immediate benefit; and even if there were, the future evils would be enough to require rejection. Then is brought forward the other argument — a moral demand: it must be, whatever the results, because it is just, and the present system is unjust. The immense inequality of fortunes now existing, involving the extremes of millionaires doing nothing, yet rolling in enjoyment, and of paupers, hard-working, or at least desirous of work, plunged in misery,— this contrast is excessive, and unjust; and the system of private ownership of land and capital, which permits it, is taken to be responsible for it (and not any mere perversion of this system), wherefore this system is unjust. Where the responsibility really lies, or what is the unjust cause of the existing injustice, is a question by itself, which will be treated of separately. Now we may inquire into the exclusive claim to justice of the proposed system of public ownership of land and capital.

That a system which has such evil consequences as socialism, if adopted in the present state of the world, would necessarily lead to, cannot be the one and only just system, is enough for our purpose, provided the arguments whereby its exclusive justice is attempted to be proved can be disproved. It will be sufficient, therefore, to refute the arguments advanced in favour of the new

1 That the possibility of this result did not terrify one of them, we find expressly acknowledged. Maréchal in the *Manifesto of the Equals* exclaimed: "Let all the arts, if need be, perish, provided there remains to us real equality," quoted by Sudre, *op. cit.*, 301. *Cf.* also above, p. 27, n. 40.

system. These have themselves been mostly, at bottom, arguments to prove the injustice of the present system, implying the corollary that the opposite system must be just. We shall, then, examine these fundamentally negative arguments; but shall begin on the surface, where they appear as positive.

Until the "scientific" exposition undertaken by Marx, the arguments chiefly relied upon were mostly very vague; and yet these with all their vagueness are still repeated. One is, that all that we have is due to society, wherefore when society ultimately appropriates it, it will merely be taking back what originally belonged to it.[2] Or the same idea is expressed by saying that we are all co-heirs of the inheritance of the past, and therefore when the people appropriates everything, they will but be reclaiming their own heritage.[3] Society is treated as an entity, which properly owns the earth and all that has been produced therefrom. If it does not now own the land and the capital accumulated, this must be either because it has given them to individuals, or because individuals have stolen them from it. In the former case, to show its right to resume them, the further idea must be entertained that society inalienably owns what it owns, and cannot rightly and effectually give away its own property; for otherwise it is not true that one can take back what one has given away. If society has alienated anything to individuals, the claim must be that it has done so wrongly and ought to undo the wrong and reassume proprietorship. But the other is the position generally occupied by the socialists: they hold that individuals have by force taken from society what they now possess, or (which connects this with the preceding) have fraudulently induced society to hand it over to them or to permit them to seize it; neither of which operations conveys rightful title: all does still belong to society, and society ought to reappropriate it, expropriating the unrightful possessors. Yet these socialists, too, must hold that society's ownership is inalienable, or else society might voluntarily give it away and convey rightful ownership to individuals. We have, then, no longer Rousseau's doctrine of the inalienable rights of individuals, which is understandable, but a doctrine of the inalienable right of an abstraction, society, to the land which it occupies and to whatever is produced and accumulated from it.[4] This inalienable right, however, is confined to land and that part of its produce which is capital; for the fruits of the earth, consumable goods, must be

2 Bebel, *Die Frau*, 296, *cf.* 265.

3 Bellamy, *Looking Backward*, 135–6, *Equality* ch. xiii. on "the social fund," a term which had been used by Saint-Simon.

4 *Cf.* Gronlund: "It is society, organised society, the state, that gives us all the rights we have"; "the state may reclaim possession of all the land within its limits," *Co-operative Commonwealth*, 82, 84.

given to individuals, if any use at all is to be made of them; wherefore socialists allow their alienation, provided it be made equally to all, or at least equitably. Land and capital, then, are to be reserved because they can be reserved, since they do not have to be given away.

But what is society's title to them in the first place? and why is it inalienable? Now, if there is any obvious principle (and it is one all socialists build upon), it is that what one produces one owns: the producer is the owner of the article produced, and the original owner, in the case of producible articles, is the producer.[5] The socialist doctrine before us can rest only on this, and it involves the idea that it is not individuals, but society, that produces all that is produced — all capital at least. As for land, which is not produced, the idea is that it is given by nature or by God, not to individuals, but to society. Both these ideas are disputable, to say the least. The latter may be examined later. The former has in it the element of truth, that much that is now produced by individuals is due to past development and to arrangements made by society, especially by the state (society organised in some locality), the productivity of a man in society being much greater than his productivity out of society. But this element of truth is not the whole truth since society does nothing by itself, and the individual also is necessary. Therefore, if the individual's title to what he produces is lessened by the fact that society contributes, society's title must likewise be lessened by the fact that the individual contributes. Society and the individual are co-producers, and therefore co-proprietors; and if society appropriates the individual's share, it will be acting unjustly, just as an individual is acting unjustly when he appropriates society's share. This is all that the principles underlying socialism can prove;[6] and it is not enough to justify society in taking, much less to require it to take, complete ownership, unless individuals are willing to give up their share. Specially is this so, as society itself is made up of individuals, and it cannot be their imperious master. And the question concerning the relative contribution of an indi-

5 That not only the socialists build upon this, but also the liberals, see the enunciation of it by Locke, *Of Civil Government*, §§ 27-30. Thiers also tried to rest the foundation of the right to property on labour, *De la Propriété*, Paris, 1848, pp. 98, 100. Of course the socialistic radical, J. S. Mill, held this doctrine. "The foundation of the whole institution of property," says he, "is the right of producers to what they themselves have produced," *Political Economy*, II. ii, § 1; *cf.* § 5, where it is "the essential principal of property."

6 Gronlund says that an invention belongs to society because no inventor "can lay sole claim to it," *op. cit.*, 84. But the fact that the individual cannot lay *sole* claim to what he produces does not show that society can lay *whole* claim to it. Hence the absurdity of his saying on the same page: "As against the state, the organised society, even labour does not give us a particle of title to what our hands and brain produce."

vidual and of society in any particular production, is really a question concerning his contribution and the contribution of all the other individuals who constitute the society. Viewed in this light, it is evident that the individual's contribution is generally much the larger; whereas, shutting their eyes to this, the socialists who admit any contribution by individuals, considerably underrate it, and generally exaggerate the contribution made by society.

The true conclusion is, that individuals may own what they produce, subject to the regulations of the contributory society. And if individuals may own, they may use, provided they injure not others; and one of the uses they may make of their products, without injuring others, is to make them serve for the production of other things, that is, as capital. Also what an individual owns, he may give away to another individual, outright, or in exchange. He may, then, give it to society itself, if he chooses, and if society will accept it. And society has the same right. Society may own a road which it no longer needs, having perhaps made a better, and that road it may sell. Societies are constantly thus alienating their useless property, and nobody can give a good reason *a priori* why they should not. Nor can any socialist give a good reason for the inalienability of society's property in general; which principle of theirs is usually taken for granted, or passed over in silence, rather than discussed. Furthermore, if the principle of the individual's inheriting from society be admitted, it is, to say the least, equally plain that he may inherit from another individual, and therefore may also bequeathe. From society no doubt the individual does inherit many things — the public roads and bridges and other property devoted to public uses, protection, and security, also the public institutions, from which he may derive benefit if he be capable of profiting by them, and if not, the public charities. But his own position in society in the first place, he inherits, not from society itself, but from his ancestors or from any one who bequeathes him his property. So at least it has always been, and in all these things no injustice can be shown, that is, inherently, in themselves. Injustice comes in only when an individual appropriates either what he has not produced or what has not been given him either outright, by bequest, or in fair exchange; and it does not come in even if, society permitting, he appropriates what he finds that has not a prior owner. And society in instituting this arrangement has not done injustice, and is not bound to change it. All that it is bound to do, is to prevent the injustice of the acts contravening its arrangement. Yet it is permissible for society to change its arrangements, if it thinks another better,— indeed, it is then its duty to do so. This duty is always incum-

bent upon it, and it is this duty, rather than any right, that is inalienable from society. More particularly, it ought to try to undo injustice already perpetrated, if it can do so without more new injustice. This latter duty is another matter, merely corrective of the present system. The former involves the admission that society may introduce socialism, if it thinks it better. But the men who compose society's organised agent, the state, should be careful to prove it to be better before adopting it. And they should not be misled by thinking the change required by justice apart from its consequences.

Another vague argument to prove the injustice of the present system and the justice of socialism, is a variation of the same theme. It is said that all wealth is produced by labour, and therefore should belong to the labourers.[7] More in particular, this takes the form of a right said to inhere in every one to own the whole produce of his labour [8] (a right which requires that the distribution made by society should be to each according to his works). In its more general form (alone maintainable by all socialists), the allegation is made in order to show that nobody but labourers, and those whom they voluntarily support, should be allowed to live, since nobody can live without consuming products of labour. Anybody who lives on rent, interest, or profit, without labour (supposed to be taking them from the producers without return of service and at best by their forced consent), is living on other people's labour, to which he has no right: he is a parasite sucking others' juices and giving nothing in return. Such a one ought to be required to earn by labour what he consumes, and what he claims to own ought to be taken from him, his title thereto not being recognised. Indeed, no titles of individuals, even of labourers, to land and capital are to be recognised; but apart from the young, the old, and the infirm, none but labourers are to participate in the produce which comes from land and

7 This was a doctrine of Rodbertus, according to Kirkup, *History of Socialism*, 122. It has been most cogently stated by Hyndman in a pamphlet, *Socialism Made Plain*, which begins: "All wealth is due to labour; therefore to the labourer all wealth is due," quoted in Mallock's *Property and Progress*, 98. So the Knights of Labour: "Labour creates all wealth; all wealth belongs to those who create it"; wherefore "all wealth rightfully belongs to the labourer," *Polity of the Labour Movement*, i. 4, quoted by Gunton, *Wealth and Progress*, 15. *Cf.* above, p. 61.

8 See A Menger's *The Right to the Whole Produce of Labour*, (English translation by M. S. Tanner, London, 1899). Menger traces it to Ch. Hall in 1805 and to Wm. Thompson in 1825. The National Convention of the Socialist Labour Party at Baltimore in 1883, issued a Manifesto beginning: "Labour being the creator of all wealth and civilisation, it rightfully follows that those who labour and create all wealth should enjoy the full result of their toil," quoted by Cathrein and Gettelmann, *Socialism*, 84. And when "all means of production and distribution of wealth" are "declared and treated as the common property of all," says *The Manifesto of the Socialist League*, London, 1885, p. 6, "every man will then receive the full value of his labour, without deduction for the profit of a master." We have, however, already seen what deductions will be necessary even under socialism, above, pp. 73–4.

capital only by means of labour. Thus, while the previous argument attempted to show that only society or the state has the right of ownership and employment of land and capital, this argument attempts to show that only labourers have a right of ownership and consumption of the produce.

This argument does not rest on the principle above accepted as fundamental, that whatever one produces he owns; but it rests on the inverse, that one can own only what he produces; for it proclaims that one may consume only what, or if, he produces; and certainly, every one but a thief must own what he consumes. But the inversion is false, as is at once evident by the case of land, which then could not be owned even by society. At best, of course, the principle, beside applying only to producible things, can have reference only to original ownership, since by exchanging what one has produced one may own what another or others have produced. Then, too, one may own and consume only either what he has produced or its equivalent obtained in exchange. To say otherwise is to set oneself adrift without any principle; for if you say one may produce little and yet consume much, you might as well say that one may produce nothing and yet consume something. Thus what is true in the involved principle, leads away from, rather than toward, socialism. And there is no other principle for socialism except a general sentiment that idlers ought not to consume what labourers produce. But this is itself broken in upon by the cases of the young and the old and the infirm. Of course if all labourers are required to give up their produce first of all to the state, and the same labourers, having control of the state, are expected to redistribute it, it is plain that charity calls upon them to give some of it to the young, the old, and the infirm, and nothing calls upon them to give any of it to those who might have contributed but have evaded the task; while what is given to school teachers, doctors, policemen, etc., is given for services rendered. But nothing shows why all labourers are required to renounce what they produce and what rightfully belongs to them first of all, and immediately to give it up to the state, except the argument which has been advanced to prove that society is the only rightful owner of everything; which argument has failed.

Moreover, there are other principles equally plain. If one may own what he produces, it is equally plain that one may keep what he owns, and therefore one need not give it, or any portion of it, up to the state, and even taxation would be unjust. Thus only the anarchists are consistent with regard to this principle. Again, one may use what one has produced and owns, and may

use it either in consuming it or in exchanging it for something else which he prefers; and that one may own what he receives in exchange, and so may own something which he has not produced. Furthermore, one may use what he owns, in either of these two ways obtained, by making it serve as capital for the easier and more abundant production of other things. One may then live on profit, which is the additional produce that comes from the use of capital; so far, however, only in case one works with one's own capital. But we may go further: if one has capital which he cannot or does not care to work with, it can hardly be maintained that society must take that capital from him: it is the product, or equivalent, of his past labour; it is his; in its stead he might have laboured to produce, or by exchange might have procured, some consumable article, and have consumed it, and society could not have taken it; then why may society take it simply because it is a spade instead of a pound of candy or a lathe instead of an automobile? To make this distinction, society must bring in some new principle. Perhaps some new principle may be found that covers this case, but it should be stated. And is it more just than another principle to this effect: that the owner of capital may let another individual use it in return for a part of the profit that comes from the use of it? In this principle is no appearance of injustice, and it directly flows from the principle, without which ownership is meaningless, that one may do what he pleases with his own, provided it is rightfully his own, which is admitted in the case in point, and provided the use made of it does no injury to another or others, which is far from the case here, since the other is helped thereby. Leasing, moreover, is only one species of exchange, and if exchange is just, it is not apparent that leasing is not so too.[9] If, then, what one gets in return for the use of his capital is sufficient for him to live on without labour of his own, why cannot he live on it? or why must he be compelled to labour and produce more, which more he will himself consume, since it is his? Or if he is to be compelled to use his own capital, another cannot, and society gains nothing, and may lose, since the other might make a better use of it. The same is the

9 When two men make an exchange, each is as rich as the other to the extent of the exchange. But if A leases a machine to B on condition that B will pay little by little out of the future produce, this seems to imply that B has not so much as A at present,— that A may be rich and B poor. This, perhaps, is the origin of the idea that while exchange is fair, leasing is unjust, since A may be taking advantage of B's necessity. If so, it is forgotten that in exchanges there is equal possibility of disparity, and if rich A is selling bread to poor B, B on consuming it may be left destitute; but when B hires a machine, he is getting power to produce more and perhaps to become rich. **The various possibilities counterbalance, and the one operation is as good as the other.**

case with interest, if money be in use in the state, and in the case of rent, if the state recognise the ownership of land in the individual. In all these cases, from the side of the other person concerned, the user of another's property, he is benefitted by such use. He can produce thereby more than he otherwise could. If he pay away in interest or in rent the whole of the excess, he would gain nothing. But this he does not do. He pays away only part of the excess, and therefore he as well as the owner is a gainer by this sort of exchange. And it would not be right for him to retain the whole of the excess; for that would be equivalent to his owning the capital or superior land which he has borrowed from another,— would be equivalent to his appropriating it. Thus the so-called right to the whole produce of one's labour is a too generally expressed right: it is a right only to the whole produce of one's labour using one's own capital — or land, or materials.

The principle, to repeat, that because all wealth (except land) is due to labour, therefore only labourers can own and consume wealth, merely overlooks other equally clear principles: that the producer, who owns what he produces, can produce things for consumption or things for use as capital; that he may abstain from consuming his products and thereby accumulate them, in order to exchange them for the products of others, and so, though he produces articles of consumption only, he may accumulate capital from them; that he may use his own capital himself, or may let it to others for a periodic return out of the increased product it enables them to produce; and that when in this way he gets enough from his capital to live on, he may cease to labour himself and still live,— all without any necessary injustice to labourers; and if, further, he gives away or at his death bequeathes his property to another or others, and thereby enables them to live without labour, it also is impossible to show that injustice necessarily enters here either. If, now, you go back to the admission above made that an owner cannot rightly, and should not be allowed to, do with his own what may injure another, and say that the permission to own, to save and accumulate, and to bequeath, does do injury to others (witness all the evils of society as it exists); you need to be careful. To do harm, to give rise to some bad consequences, is not the same as to do injury, which is to violate another's right; or else we could hardly do anything with our own: you could not build a house because it might interfere with the view from the windows of a house of your neighbour. The evils existing to-day may be consequences of the power which the accumulators of property

have over others, and which society permits them to misuse; and this misused power may be enhanced by society's sanction of injurious methods employed in the accumulation of wealth. Here there is much to complain of; but the fault is in the misuse, and not in the use, of the system of private property, and it might be abundantly set off by the possible misuse of the system of public property, if ever it were introduced. Or, leaving out consideration of injury, you may say that more harm is done by private ownership of land and capital than would be done by public ownership, or more good would be done by public ownership than is done by private ownership. This, however, is no longer a question of justice, but of expediency: it judges not by an antecedent idea of what ought to be, despite all consequences, but it determines what ought to be by a comparison of consequences, and a selection of the best. In this form the question has already been discussed, and it has been decided in favour of private ownership,— without prejudicing, however, a contention that some limitation should be set to excessive accumulation, as by restrictions upon the ownership of land and the right to receive donations and bequests.

In both the above arguments lurks a common element, which is, that as only society is the rightful first owner of land and capital, and as only labourers are the rightful last owners of consumable products, therefore, if any one whosoever owns land or capital, and if any one who does not labour gets into his possession articles which he consumes and lives on, such persons are owning and using things that do not rightfully belong to them, that is, they are unrightful owners, or rather, they are not owners at all, but only possessors, and possessors of things not theirs, thieves therefore, or receivers of stolen goods, who likewise are thieves. Hence the doctrine that private property is theft or robbery. This was enunciated by Brissot de Warville in the form "exclusive property is theft in nature," [10] and by Proudhon more briefly, and too briefly, as "property is theft," [11]

10 In his *Recherches philosophiques sur le Droit de Propriété et le Vol.* 1780. He devived it from a principle that our needs are the measure of our rights to property He stated a paradox: "The thief in the natural state is the rich man, who has a superfluity. In society the thief is he who despoils this rich man. What an upsetting of ideas!" (Sudre, *Histoire du Communisme,* 244).

11 In his *Qu'est-ce que la Propriété,* 1840. He claimed it to be his own in his *Systeme des Contradictions économiques.* With him it rested on a vague idea that all persons have an equal right to labour, and on the false principle that distributive justice consists in absolute equality. He went so far as to deny all ownership whatsoever, admitting only possession, to attack the socialism of his day, and to accept anarchism. More moderately he compared property to the right of *aubaine* (the sovereign's unjust claim to the goods of a stranger sojourning in his territory).— According to Marx (*Capital,* i. 603n.), the statement "property is robbery" was expressed also by John Watts, in a pamphlet *Facts and Fictions of Political Economists,* published in 1842. Laveleye (*Le Socialisme contemporain,* p. xvii.) cites several

at least for the purpose of the socialists, since they leave land and capital as public property and distributed products as private property.[12] But, for the socialists, Proudhon's famous dictum must apply to all private property in land and capital and in the fruits thereof until distributed. This is the necessary corollary of the socialists' claim that their system alone is just and that the present system is unjust. They do not mean what moralists mean when moralists tell us that much of the wealth possessed to-day has been unjustly acquired, by fraud amounting to little less than downright theft, and therefore is still held by an unjust title. This has reference to the perverted use of the system of private property. But the socialists' position is that in its own nature all private ownership of land and capital is unjust, and as such is robbery, the private owners having expropriated the true owner, society, or the representative of the labourers. It has been formulated by Lassalle in his German aphorism "Das Eigentum ist Fremdentum geworden": one's own has come into the possession of others.[13] Hence his and Marx's animus against the upper classes as a set of thieves, and their revolutionary doctrine that the expropriators should themselves be expropriated, and the land and capital be resumed by its rightful owners, society and the producers.[14]

Now, for this doctrine of certain private property being robbery neither Proudhon nor any other socialist, communist, or anarchist ever gave any reason that had any appearance of being conclusive and won any large following, until this feat was accomplished by Marx. This he did by his doctrine of surplus-value, which term refers to the value that is supposed to be stolen from the employed labourers by the employing capitalists. He achieved an appearance of demonstration by confining his

Church Fathers — Basil, Chrysostom, Jerome, Ambrose, Clement,— to the same effect. More recently, for example, Bellamy holds that cripples who are not supported by society on an equal footing with the workers are "robbed" of their inheritance, *Looking Backward*, 136.

12 Of course, too, it is absurd to speak of property in general being robbery, as property must exist before its proprietors can be robbed of it: so Max Stirner, *Der Einzige und sein Eigentum*, 293.

13 *Gesamtwerke*, i. 197. The term "Fremdentum" he got from Max Stirner, *op. cit.*, 369.

14 Engels was still more severe. He indicted the whole bourgeoisie, held responsible for the conduct of society, as murderers, because they kept up conditions which they "knew in advance" would lead to "a too early and unnatural death" of hundreds of proletarians, *Condition of the Working Class in England*, 63-4, 73. This is based on an entirely inadequate definition of murder, omitting all reference to malice aforethought. It also does not distinguish between causing and letting others die; nor does it consider whether society, as at present organised, does not preserve more than would be preserved if it were not so organised. If it were possible, in the nature of things, for society to be better organised and so perhaps preserve all its members, but society does not yet know the better organisation, it cannot be convicted even of manslaughter for adhering to its present general scheme. As a matter of fact, when Engels wrote, the bourgeoisie were engaged in improving the conditions of the laborers, and so in preserving more and more of them, even from the natural consequences of their own imprudence.

investigations strictly to the realm of economics, from which his predecessors had been distracted by their wanderings into ethics; and he won a large following by appealing to the labourers, whose complaint he was voicing, while his predecessors had addressed rather the upper classes, whose justice they were impugning. He devoted his attention almost exclusively to the case of capital, and in so doing he chose the more difficult task, since capital is the product of labour, and therefore its producer would seem to be its owner and to be able to do with it what he pleased, with sole proviso of not injuring others; whereas in the case of land the owner is not its producer, and the prior question may therefore arise by what right he came to own it. Therefore if Marx can prove his point against capital, we may admit it at once of land, since the rent the landowner takes from letting it is precisely analogous to the interest the capitalist gets from loaning his capital, and if the latter comes out of the profit made by the manufacturer, appropriating the surplus-value created by labourers labouring with machinery, the former must come from the profit made by the farmer appropriating the surplus-value created by labourers labouring in the fields.

But if Marx does not prove his point concerning capital, the question of the justice of land-ownership still remains. This question had already before Marx been tackled by Patrick Edward Dove in 1850 and 1854, and in the former year by Herbert Spencer, who afterward, though he never retracted his principles, repudiated his conclusion on this subject, and soon after Marx again by Henry George in 1871 and 1879 and thereafter for many years incessantly,— and George, when he formed and formulated his views, seems to have been as ignorant of Marx's work as Dove must have been, and of Dove himself, but by 1879 not of Herbert Spencer, nor of the physiocrats with their *impot unique*.[15] Dove's work fell flat, and does not seem to have been known to Marx, at least till late.[16] George's obtained for a while wider notoriety even than Marx's, and many were elated with the prospect of speedy success in the carrying out of his recommendation.[17] But in the end George did not win so strong a following as Marx, because his panacea did not appeal so directly to any one class.

15 See the *Life* of him by his son, 228, 229, 520–1; *cf.* George's own *Science of Political Economy*, *Works*, vi. 189. George himself later found, and reported, that similar views had been enunciated by Thomas Spence in 1775 and by William Ogilvie in 1782, and partially by Dr. Chalmers, *ib.* 185–6.

16 In the posthumous third volume of *Capital* Dove is twice referred to, on pp. 741, 748.

17 So even Tolstoi, who about 1888 said that "in thirty years private property in land will be as much a thing of the past as now is serfdom. England, America, and Russia will be the first to solve the problem," quoted in the *Life of Henry George*, 514.

CHAPTER VI.

THE SOCIALIST THEORY AS TO CAPITAL — MARX'S

THE doctrine of surplus-value[1] is the second of Marx's alleged "discoveries"; which we now have to investigate. To reach it, we must begin with his principles.

Marx denied the opening statement of the Gotha Programme, that "labour is the source of all wealth," on the ground that wealth consists not merely of exchange-values, but of use-values, which latter are due to nature.[2] In its place he maintained the doctrine, equally serviceable for the purposes of socialism, that labour is the source of all exchange-value, and as far as wealth consists of exchange-values, it is one of the sources of wealth,[3] This is closely connected with the Ricardian doctrine that labour is the measure of value. But Marx deviates from Ricardo. Ricardo treated of agriculture, and, perceiving that equal quantities of wheat, which have the same value, are at the same time and in the same neighbourhood produced with different quantities of labour, concluded that the labour which determines value is that at the least fertile source, where the greatest cost is profitably expended. He thereby also explained rent, which is the surplus obtained by the same amount of labour from the more fertile sources, and showed why it is that some landowners can live without labouring. Of this undesired result Marx says, at the outset, not a word. He dealt rather with workmen in a factory, between whose work little discrimination can be made, and concluded that the labour-cost which determines the value of commodities is an average of the labour of all the operatives. This of course, when universalised, is an error; but no matter, universalised, it is the foundation on which Marx built. He

1 The term was taken from W. Thompson, *An Enquiry into the Distribution of Wealth*, 1824, p. 167 (according to Menger, *op. cit.*). Menger also refers to Sismondi's "mieux-valeur."

2 In his *Kritik des sozialdemokratischen Programms*. The opinion had been suggested by Berkeley in his *Querist*, 42; and was virtually laid down by Adam Smith in the opening sentence of *The Wealth of Nations*, where he speaks of labour as a "fund" which "originally supplies" all necessaries and conveniences. But in another passage (in Book V. ch. iii.) he says "Land and capital stock are the two original sources of all revenue." Marx himself speaks of "the soil and the labourer" as "the original source of all wealth," *Capital*, i. 556.

3 *Zur Kritik der politischen Oekonomie*, 11–13, 35. But in *Capital* i. not only labour, 210, but labour-power, 186, 216, is a "source of value."

even added an argument for it.[4] In commodities, he says, that are exchanged as equivalents, there must "exist in equal quantities something common to both"; whereupon he eliminates usefulness, and concludes that the "only common property left" is "that of being products of labour," adding a moment later, "of human labour."[5] Yet he has to admit that "nothing can have value without being an object of utility,"[6] and that a valuable article, produced by labour, if it spoils, loses its value.[7] It is true, value is not proportionate to utility solely: this we know by experience, just as it is by experience we know that value is not proportionate to labour solely! Utility, however, is one factor in all values; which labour is not. Marx ought, therefore, to have looked around for another universal factor, and he could easily have found it in rarity; whereupon he would have seen that the one thing common in all valuable things, and proportionate to their value, is a product of the two factors, utility and rarity, or, which amounts to the same thing, a ratio between utility and abundance; and that labour enters in as a factor only secondarily to the extent it changes rarity into abundance.[8] Instead, Marx accepts labour alone as the necessary factor, in spite of the universal presence of utility and the not uncommon absence of labour; and as labour is measured by time, therefore he says the value of every commodity is proportionate to the labour-time required for its production,— not indeed that which any individual labourer may spend upon it, but that which "on an average" is "socially necessary," and at the present moment, so that commodities made in the past are valued according to the labour now necessary for reproducing similar commodities; all which he calls "the general law and the basis of political enonomy."[9] This is not all. Labour itself has qualitative, amounting to quantitative, difference, as between skilled and unskilled. Choosing among these, Marx takes for his measure "simple average labour," which he thinks "in any particular society is *given*. Skilled labour counts

4 In the first chapter of *Capital;* for the argument was not in the first work, *Zur Kritik der politischen Oekonomie*, where, p. 6, the same doctrine is advanced.

5 *Capital*, i. 43–4, 69.— Though he departed here from Ricardo, he did not lack a predecessor among the liberal economists; for this had been said by Bastiat, who, however, went no further: see his *Oeuvres complètes*, iv. 415–16, *cf.* vi. 129.

6 *Capital* i. 48, 97–8, 225.

7 *Capital*, ii. 145. It is, he now says, one of two "essential conditions" for a commodity being saleable (*i.e.* having exchange-value) that it should be useful, the other being that it should represent certain labour, iii. 214, *cf.* 745, also i. 209. The last, however, simply is *not* an essential condition, unless "commodity" be arbitrarily defined as, and thereby confined to, objects produced by human labour.

8 It is remarkable that while Marx was continuing to labour at his *magnum opus* after publishing its first volume, Walras, Jevons, and Menger were re-founding economic science. But Marx seems to have known nothing about their work. He paid no attention to contemporary economists. He never referred even to his earlier compatriot, Gossen.

9 III. 369.

only as simple labour intensified, or rather as multiplied simple labour, a given quantity of skilled being considered equal to a greater quantity of simple labour." [10] "Experience," Marx adds, "shows that such reduction is constantly being made." Therefore, when two articles produced with equal amounts of labour have different values, it is because their labours have different consideration paid to them by society,[11]— in other words, because their labours are differently valued! But when two articles exactly alike, such as two bushels of wheat of the same quality, have been produced by different amounts of labour, on different soils, Marx has no explanation for the equality of their value, since it is known that here the labour is not averaged, and Ricardo's explanation is not relished by a socialist; and so he keeps discreetly silent, until his theory has won much following, and then his editor, after his death, publishes the end of his work, in which he virtually accepts Ricardo's doctrine.[12] He himself, however, throughout the only volume published during his lifetime, abides by his principle, and clothes it in poetical language. The different kinds of labour being supposed to have been, by multiplication, reduced to the simple labour everywhere and always the same, the value of a commodity, he says, is the amount of labour, or labour-time, "absorbed" and then not only "incorporated" or "incarnated," or "coagulated," and not only "objectified" and "materialised," ("realised" was Ricardo's expression [13]), but also "congealed" and "crystallised" in the commodity; while labour, being thus "embodied" in a commodity, is the "substance of value" in it, or its "value-creating substance." [14]

From this principle everything may be derived that Marx desires. The value of a commodity, being nothing but the human labour expended upon it, cannot come from anything else but from human labour — and not from the straining of a horse, for instance, or from the puffing of a steam-engine, though they do the same work as a man, in turning, say, a mill-stone which grinds wheat into flour. The doctrine, very evidently, is erroneous; for value is not a thing created, but a quality that appears when certain conditions are brought together. Labour,

10 Or, as expressed by one of his followers, Gronlund: "The unit [of value] — 'a day's work'— will mean the simplest work of average efficiency of a normal working day." *Co-operative Commonwealth*, 151. So before, Bastiat, *Œuvres*, vi. 175, 243.

11 *Capital*, i. 51; similarly *Zur Kritik der politischen Oekonomie*, 5, 6. *Cf.* Ricardo, *Works* (McCulloch's ed.), 15.

12 *Capital*, iii. 760, 948, 950.

13 *Works*, 11. Bastiat, who placed value in services, also had spoken of services being "incarnated" or "incorporated," *Œuvres*, vi. 180, 184.

14 *Capital*, ch. i., and *passim*.

or rather labourers, by their labour, create (from pre-existing materials) valuable articles, that is, articles of greater or less usefulness[15] and more or less rare; but neither labour nor labourers create value.[16] Value comes from the consumers much more than from the producers: rather it is superimposed upon articles by the need (itself extensified by their utility and intensified by their rarity) which the consumers have for them; and it is precisely the function of the producers to decrease the value of articles by increasing their abundance. Therefore in reality, for the capitalist it is indifferent, as long as he can produce articles upon which his customers set a sufficient value to yield him profit, whether they be worked up by human employés or by animals or by machines. Not so, however, in Marx's view: according to his initial assumption (for it is nothing else), the value of products comes only from the human labour put into them. Thus it is concocted from the start that a capitalist cannot get any new value from the operation of his machinery or other non-human instruments, and if he does not labour himself, he can get it only from the labour of other men. All that is left for Marx to do is to point out the process by which this acquisition of value from other people's labour is accomplished.

Gain of this sort, says Marx, can be made neither in exchange nor without exchange. Not in exchange, because every exchange where there is not cheating is of equivalents. Each party, he admits, may gain in acquiring what is to him of more use-value; but he denies that either party can gain more exchange-value (175[17]),—and exchange-value, and not use-value, is the form in which value manifests itself (43, 45, 95n., *cf.* 57n.). Here at once a protest must be placed, as his instance of an exchange of corn for wine by parties who intend to consume them, is not typical of all exchanges, and for a merchant the greater use-value of what he gets consists in its, for him, greater exchange-value. Marx shuts his eyes to what goes on between the exchanges, and looking only at the two exchanges, asserts that in them no gain can be made; for, he adds, if commodities are "sold at prices deviating from their values," such deviations are "infractions of the law of exchange of commodities." And "where equality exists," he repeats from Galiani, "there can be no gain."[18] Not being obtainable, then, in a single exchange,

15 *Cf.* Marx himself, ii. 446.

16 Hence there is nothing "inexplicable," as Marx maintains, "that more value should come out of production than went into it," iii. 51, since value comes from elsewhere than from the production of the commodity.

17 Simple numerals in the text will refer to pages of the first volume of *Capital.*

18 176. The reference is to the second volume, p. 244, of Galiani's *Della Moneta* (Custodi's ed.), where Galiani is dealing with cambistry and interest, which he calls

new value, according to Marx, cannot be obtained in a circuit of exchanges; and yet it is not obtained without such a circuit, or circulation; for all production for profit is performed by means of exchanges. Here is an Hegelian antithesis, which Marx proceeds to synthesize and dissolve; for which purpose he turns to manufacturing, in which the capitalist, he asserts, deals with a new kind of commodity now to be introduced upon the scene.

This new kind of commodity is the labour-power of human labourers, which has a value of its own, determined by the labour-cost of producing and reproducing it,[19] and which additionally, unlike all other commodities — unlike horses and machines, as we have seen,— has the property of being able to create new value, out of relation with its own value.[20] Labourers, when engaged by an employer, sell to him for a time, not their labour, which has no value, but their labour-power; and what their labour-power produces is his, because the producer, for the time being, is his (ch. vi.). There is something curious about this idea of a labour-power, itself valuable and always remaining in the labourer, but sending forth labour which has no value but which on entering an object there becomes the substance and creator of its value. There is also much anomalousness about the conception of this power being a commodity. And certainly it is not sold, except in the case of slaves, but only leased by the labourer, and not bought, but only hired by the capitalist.[21] Furthermore, if, according to the theory, the value of this power-commodity is determined by the cost of producing

" two brothers," the one evening up difference in space, the other in time. Gain from money, he says, is blameworthy; but it is wrong to call gain from money that which is added to make what is distant in place or in time equal to what is present here and now, since " where there is equality, there is no gain." This defence of interest, much employed by our modern economists who know nothing of Galiani, is strangely misused by Marx. Had he understood it, he would have seen that the profit made by merchants equalises the value, say, of shoes completed in the factory with the same shoes put on the feet of the consumer. Instead, he forgets it also of interest, and remarks that what he has said " with reference to merchants' capital applies still more to money-lenders' capital," and quotes Aristotle to show the unnaturalness of making money from money, 183.

19 This, of course, is wrong, just as in the case of commodities. The value of labour, or of a labourer's power, is determined by its utility (in this case its productivity) and its rarity. The common-sense of Hobbes brought him nearer to the truth, when he wrote that " the value, or worth, of a man, is as of other things, his price; that is to say, so much as would be given for the use of his power: and therefore is not absolute, but a thing dependent on the need and judgment of another " (rather of others), *Leviathan*, ch. 10.

20 As a fact, of course, the value of articles produced by labourers is in the market brought into close relation with the value of the labourer's labour or labour-power; since the former value is one of the factors that determine the latter value.

21 " Labour-power," says Marx himself, " is always purchased afresh, not bought for good like the instruments of labour," ii. 226. He also speaks of the labourer " continually selling his labour-power," ii. 512,— continually selling the same thing! He here commits very much the same fault he condemns in Proudhon, whom he takes to task for saying that loaning at interest is " the faculty of always selling the same article over and over, and of receiving its price again and again, without ever relinquishing the ownership of the things one is selling," iii. 406.

it, so also should be its ownership, and since the labourer, and consequently the labour-power in him, has been produced by and at the expense of his parents, the labour-power in him ought to belong to them, as in fact it did in ancient Rome. But Marx starts with the labourer already provided full-grown in the market, and then treats his labour-power as needing to be kept up by the labourer himself, so to speak, feeding it, and thereby reproducing whatever of it is worn away in labouring. Also he knows, of course, that to keep up the labour-market, the labourer must reproduce himself in children; wherefore the cost of labour-power includes that of supporting a family. In ordinary commodities no such need is observed, and it occurs only in those commodities which are used as capital — such as "labouring cattle," as noticed by Marx himself (ii. 441); as it is only in the case of capital that thought is given to keeping it intact by repair and by a sinking fund for its replacement.[22] However this be, the value of labour-power is held to be determined by "the average quantity of the means of subsistence," not absolutely or physically, but "habitually" necessary (Ricardo had said "essential from habit"[23]) for keeping in existence the labourer and the children that are to replace him; which quantity is "practically known" "in a given country at a given period," although it varies in different countries and at different periods in dependence "on the conditions under which, and consequently on the habits and degree of comfort in which, the class of labourers has been formed" (i. 190, 568).

Now, the manufacturer, having hired from its owners (the labourers) at its "value" this strange commodity, sets it (or them) to work. Besides paying the owners enough to keep them and their race alive —enough to keep their one commodity (rather their capital) in perpetual existence,— he provides them with materials to work upon and with instruments to work with. These materials and instruments have values equal to the amounts of labour necessary to produce them, and no more. A certain quantity of materials are used up every day in producing a certain quantity of products, and their value, including that of the necessary waste, "goes over" into the value of the products. The instruments last longer, but are finally worn out, and the value of their use that is "transferred" to the products every day is determined by their total value, which includes the value spent upon keeping them in repair, divided

22 Marx himself admits that labour-power is capital to the capitalist, but denies that it is capital to the labourer, ii. 441; which last is absurd, except in the case of slaves.

23 *Works*, 50.

by the number of days they last (*cf.* ii. 179). These instruments, or machines, like the materials, are "means of production," Marx admits; but, he claims, again like the materials, they do not themselves produce (i. 201, 557): unlike the labourers, or the labourers' commodity, labour-power, "machinery," says Marx, "like any other component of constant capital, creates no new value," and therefore such "means of production never add more value to the product than they themselves possess," or "can never transfer more value to the product than they themselves lose during the labour-process" (527; 229, 227), apparently for no better reason than that like all the forces of nature they do their work "gratuitously" (423), that is, are not paid for it. Only the human labourer who guides the machinery and is paid for so doing, or only his labour, is productive (201, 558); only his labour-power (his commodity) is the "value-creative power" (*cf.* 625); only this can transfer more, by adding new, value to the products than, or in addition to, what it itself possesses. And because he has bought its creator in advance, it is the capitalist who gets this new or surplus value. The process is as follows,—and this constitutes the gist of Marx's great contribution to science.

Marx supposes that the average labourer can be supported, he and his family, for a certain sum a day, which therefore is the value of his labour-power by the day. The day of living is twenty-four hours long; but nothing defines the day of labour. Marx supposes the normal labour-day to be twelve hours. He supposes also that the value of the daily wage, accurately set at the value of the day's use of the labour-power, may be produced in six hours of labour. If, therefore, the manufacturer worked his men only six hours daily, their product would be worth only what it cost him: he would gain nothing, and he would not engage in such an occupation. But the labour-day is twelve hours, and this fact comes to the manufacturer's rescue. For in the next six hours of his labourer's labour, though the wear and tear of the machinery and the quantity of material used up are repeated, yet the sum paid to the labourer does not have to be repeated. Consequently the doubled product of the whole day's work, which has double value because of the doubled amount of labour all told spent upon it, pays as before for the machinery and material used up, and could have paid twice as much to the labourer, but it does not: the surplus product produced by the labourer beyond the value of his labour-power is pocketed by the manufacturer, and becomes his profit, not the labourer's. Thus the "trick" is accomplished: new value has been produced both within and without the sphere of circula-

tion, being an affair both of exchange and of production and while it is produced by the labourer, the capitalist appropriates it.[24]

This "appropriation" by the capitalist (559, 619, 640) of what he has bought and paid for, is now treated as "expropriation of the labourer" (786, 848, iii. 257, 520, 699)—as the "robbery" so much complained of (i. 555, *cf.* 496n.), the stealing of the labourer's product by the capitalist, who "excludes" him from it (584). The "industrial capitalist" is the first appropriator, and he "extracts" (241, 326, 618), "extorts" (iii. 958, 963), or "absorbs" (i. 257, 292, 339) from the labourers labour for which he does not pay; he "squeezes out the labour-power of others" (348, 355, 450, 651), "pumps out" their surplus-labour (653, iii. 955, 957), "filches" the surplus-value from its producers (iii. 910), and "enforces on the labourers an abstinence from life's enjoyments" which he does not himself practise (i. 651, *cf.* iii. 520); he "exacts" from them a "tribute" (i. 637–8, 648) or a "booty" (583, 619, 657), which he may share with money-lenders and landowners (618–19), and which he "saves" only in order to use it further in the same process.[25] All this takes place not only by a perversion of the system of capitalism, when an employer cheats or unfairly grinds his employés, but in the very nature of the system, whenever a capitalist *qua* capitalist takes a penny of profit. The very nature of the wage-system implies "always the performance of a certain amount of unpaid labour on the part of the labourer" (678). "Property now turns out to be the right, on the part of the capitalist, to appropriate the unpaid labour of others or its product, and to be the impossibility, on the part of the labourer, of appropriating his own product" (640, *cf.* 848). "Capital is dead labour that, vampire-like, only lives by sucking living labour, and lives the more, the more labour it sucks" (257, *cf.* 330, 625). The whole process—this "exploitation of man by man"[26]—is, of course, one of "cheating" or "embezzling" (593, 605; 670); for it is not a frank appropriation of the labourer himself, as in slavery (591, 593), and it veils and hides the distinction between the paid and the unpaid labour which was plainly disclosed in the *corvées* of old, when the villein worked three days of the week for himself and three days for his lord (261–3, 591, 622–3), although in our present "capitalist exploitation," which has taken the place of the "feudal" (787), just as truly the labourer works only part of the day for himself

24 Ch. vii. Of all this the hint seems to have come from Senior, who had spoken of the net profit being derived "from the last hour": see 248–54.

25 648–9. Originally some capital may have been accumulated by the labourers who produced it; but now capital is accumulated in this way: *cf.* 623, 637–8, 639–40.

26 787, *i.e.* "of the labourer by the capitalist," 241. This Saint-Simonian phrase, appearing first in the last-cited passage, is thereafter used at least twenty times.

and the rest of the day for the capitalist (242, *cf.* 558). In short, present capital is not merely stored-up labour but it is appropriated and accumulated "unpaid labour" (624, *cf.* 585), "for which no equivalent is returned." [27]

Now, all this great discovery amounts to just nothing. Every savage knew that he could support himself and family by working a part of the day, and that if he worked more he would produce more. And the most imbecile hired labourer knows that his employer is making something out of his work, or else his employer would not take the trouble to give him employment; and any one who has brains enough to make an analysis, could see that a part of the labourer's work goes to pay his wages, on which he and his family subsist, and the rest goes to the employer, who must use some of it to replenish his capital, and can take the remainder for himself, unless, not owning all the capital he employs, he has to share some of it with those from whom he borrowed or rented.[28] The only questions that can be raised are: Does the capitalist (either employer or lender, or both [29]) get all the surplus, correctly measured, of the labourer's work? and if not, Does he still get more of it than he ought to get?

Marx's affirmative answer to the first question depends entirely on his false principles. So perverse are they that they cut the ground from under his feet. For one of them regulates the value of labour-power, limiting this value to the cost of maintaining the labourer; and in his sample case Marx again and again admits that the manufacturer pays and the labourer receives for the latter's labour-power its full value.[30] He claims also that the manufacturer sells the products for their exact value, according to the quantity of labour that has gone into them. Then what is there to complain of? To say that the capitalist gets from the labourer "unpaid labour" is especially ridiculous, as according to Marx labour has no value, and it is not labour that the manufacturer either pays for or does not pay for. It is the labourer's labour-power that the manufacturer hires or pays for by the day at the day's value. If the labourer works for himself, on his own materials, with his own instruments, he may take the whole surplus-value that his labour-power produces. But if he first sells his labour-power to another, thus "alienating" it (625, *cf.* 193,

27 III. 926, *cf.* 345, 458, i. 624, 639. Marx's follower, Gronlund, has gone him one term better, and called capital not only "accumulated withheld wages," but "accumulated fleecings," *Co-operative Commonwealth*, 18.

28 To Marx it seemed "absurd at first sight, that labour which creates a value of 6s. possesses a value of 3s.," 591. The trouble with Marx is that he never corrected this "first" impression.

29 The landowner, according to Marx, as we shall see, gets only "extra" surplus, wherever it occurs, and so need not be considered here.

30 See 192, 206, 216, 585, 639, 640, 642, 657; *cf.* 429.

258, 588), and his ownership then ceasing (*cf.* 365), it is equally right that the other should take the surplus-value produced by the labour-power which now is *his* labour-power.[31] Thus Marx's own principles seem to give a complete justification of the capital-and-wage system, even if the labourers were ground down to a bare subsistence.[32]

Nobody can admit such a result, and of course Marx does not admit it. On the contrary, Marx considers it unjust that the manufacturer, or at least the capitalist *qua* capitalist, should get any of the surplus-value whatever. This is running into the opposite extreme, into which nobody ought to follow him. But before examining the question of right, let us examine the question of fact. Does the capitalist get the whole surplus-value? First of all, does Marx prove what he pretends to prove?

In Marx's exposition there is one flagrant omission: he never shows any reason why the capitalists in selling their products should get exactly the prices which, equalling the values, yield profits equal to the surplus-values. And there is no reason why they should always get these prices, and they do not. And what is more, in the third volume of his work, published after his death and twenty-seven years after the first (in which he assumed that "prices = values," 244n.), Marx admits that they do not, and gives a very good reason why they should not. For if they did, the capitalists employing little fixed capital and much variable capital spent on labour-power would get great profits, while the capitalists employing much fixed capital and little variable capital would get small profits (iii. 176–9, 205, 230); whereas the facts are, that the profits in different industries do not diverge greatly and are near to a general level.[33] The facts are, that capital migrates from the industries where profits are small, till through deficient supply the prices of the products rise, and toward industries where profits are high, till through abundant supply the prices of the products fall, in the one case raising and in the other lessening profits, till they are more or less equalised.[34]

31 And consequently all its products. But Marx treates the capitalist as rightfully the "owner" only of that "portion of the commodity-product" for which he paid, ii. 465,— *i.e.* for the portion produced by the labour which produces as much as was paid, as though in paying for the labour-power at its full value he had not paid for all its labour.

32 One of Marx's complaints is that the capitalist buys his labourers' labour-power separately and then by putting them to co-operate gets a productive power considerably greater than the mere sum of their individual powers, i. 365–6. But if it is the capitalist who does this, and not any of the labourers, why should not the capitalist get the gain? Nothing in modern society prevents the labourers from doing this themselves, and in England there is a law specially empowering them to do so.

33 III. 181, 185, 200, 230, 245, 712, 883, 896.

34 III. 224–5, 230–1, 243, *cf.* 56–7; 186, 212, 331, 754, 883, *cf.* 226–7.

Marx admits all this, but thinks he saves his theory by claiming that the diverging prices balance around the mean of values, and the profits on the whole (diminished on the one side as they are enlarged on the other) are equal to what they would be, were all things sold at their values,[35]— and at least the industries of middling or average composition sell their products at their values and yield profits equal to their surplus-values.[36] He nowhere proves, however, nor can he prove, such an epicyclical assertion; for it would be a mere matter of chance if all capitalist producers, who are only interested in getting all the profits they can, and not at all in making them sum up to agree with the total surplus-value (about which they knew nothing till Marx enlightened them[37]), should perform the latter feat; and though it is true that deviations may balance around a centre, which must be otherwise explained,[38] it does not follow that the centre must be the one Marx offers, unless he proves it, which he nowhere does, but simply assumes it (III. 185). But even if he had proved this interesting addition, it would not save his theory; for the fact would remain that most products are not sold at their values, but some above and some below, so that articles sold at the same prices may some have smaller and some greater values, and as these articles are exchanged for each other, their exchanges are not of equivalents (*cf.* iii. 205–6, 209), though he had started out, as we have seen, with the assertion that deviations of prices from values "are to be considered as infractions of the laws of exchange of commodities," which exchange of commodities, he adds, "in its normal state is an exchange of equivalents."[39] This contradiction of the conclusion with the premise simply refutes the whole theory. Marx's "value" is an empty name for an essence (*cf.* iii. 56) supposed to have fixed and well-regulated being under a world of changing and shifting phenomena in only the most distant and general agreement with it; and his "law of value" is rather of what should exist (in a socialistic and heavenly world[40]) than of what does exist in our capitalistic and competitive world, which, in fact, he tells us, because of its disagreement with his theory, is topsy-turvy, every-

35 III. 190, 215, 236–7, 419, 431, 1002; 187–8, 195, 196, 236, 332, 712, 750, 880, 968–9.

36 III. 204, 236, 242, (307), 407, 745, 994.

37 III. 50, 199, 880.

38 III. 211, 213, 214, 221, 223–4, 244, 370, 419, 1007, 1008. He admits that the fluctuations of interest do not have any such centre, 419, *cf.* 426, 427, 430–1.

39 I. 176–7; *cf.* 641. He notices the difference in iii. 192, 194. This shows the absurdity of Engels's contention that Marx solved his difficulty about the average rate of profits "not only without a violation of the law [Marx's] of value, but by means of it," ii. 28, iii. 18ff. Marx, of course, had worked it out already when he published the first volume: see there 244n., 355.

40 *Cf.* iii. 207–8, 221, (306–7), 773–4.

thing therein appearing upside-down.[41] However this be, the fact remains also, which is our present point, that in most industries the capitalists do not get for their profits the exact surplus-values, but in some cases less and in some more,— and whether all profits sum up equal to all surplus-values, has not been even attempted to be proved, and would have no significance if it were proved.

But we are more interested still with the first volume, and with its assumption that "prices = values." We may even grant that in industries of average composition (iii. 193) the prices at which the products are sold equal their "values,"[42] and so yield to the capitalists profits equal to the surplus-values as calculated by Marx. Our question is, What of it? What is this surplus-value? And in getting it or some of it, does the capitalist get too much? This is the important question.

Now, Marx's position, when his assumptions are left for facts, again discloses its lack of any firm basis resting on reality. He says the capitalist pays his labourers what is sufficient to support them according to the prevailing standard of living of their class. This is a variable standard (*cf.* i. 429), and so his basis is a shifting one. Then he measures surplus-value by the amount which the labourers produce above what the capitalist pays them and in other ways expends in the process of production. Of course, then, the capitalist gets the entire surplus-value, and he would get it no matter how much he paid them (since whatever he, the average capitalist pays, is the customary wage), provided it was just short of the gross value, leaving for himself an infinitesimal surplus. In other words, Marx measures surplus-value by the profit which the capitalist ordinarily or on the average gets, no matter what it be, and then complains that the labourer gets none of it! Surplus-value, in other words, is nothing else but profit differently viewed (its rate being calculated on the variable capital, while that of profit is calculated on the total capital, iii. 55); and he might just as well have complained at the outset that the capitalist gets any profit. No reason has been brought forward to show why he should not get some profit except the talk about "unpaid labour," although according to

41 III. 966, 962; 244, 263, 270, 807, *cf.* 60, 264, 369.

42 This involves also the question whether the prices which give this result are wholesale or retail prices. Marx decides in favour of the latter, because otherwise the merchants would have to sell regularly above the "value," iii. 333–7. This, however, requires that the manufacturers must regularly sell below the "value"; which he explains by saying the merchant does some of the manufacturer's work, helping him to "realise" the value he (the manufacturer) alone "produces," iii. 342–3; 53; *cf.* ii. 150–1, iii. 345–6, 354. Here Marx merely shows ignorance of the meaning of the term "production," which (the thing) may be for different markets. But with this we have no special interest. Marx's work simply bristles with such difficulties made by his own false principles.

Marx himself it is not labour, but labour-power the capitalist pays for, and according to common sense what he pays for is the product of labour. However, had Marx used some fairly fixed standard of living as his standard, he would then have followed the principles of correct metrology, and would have had some basis to stand on. The only standard of living of this sort, though its fixity is not particularly stable, is the minimum amount of produce necessary to keep labourers alive and in good condition and to enable them to propagate their species. If he had chosen this, he might have had some excuse for complaining about the hard-heartedness of the capitalists in grinding their labourers down to a bare pittance just sufficient for subsistence. But he expressly denies this, maintaining that wages are a variable quantity, and adducing the "physical minimum required by the labourer for the conservation of his labour-power and for its reproduction" as the lower limit of the variation of their wages, from which "the actual value of his labour-power differs according to climate and condition of social development," depending, as it does, "not merely upon the physical, but also upon the historically developed social needs, which become second nature." "In every country and at any given period," he adds, "this regulating average wage is a given magnitude" (iii. 1000). But how much this given magnitude departs from the physical minimum, he nowhere inquires. Yet the extent of this departure shows how much of the surplus-value, rightly measured, is being participated in by the labourers.

Whether this participation is stationary, falling, or rising, relatively or only absolutely, is also a question of importance, inadequately answered. Marx's principles, after being defeated in the requirement that it should not take place at all, at least require that it should be stationary. Marx practically held what Lassalle called the "iron [literally brazen [43]] law of wages," though he did not use the term.[44] For his first principle is, as is the socialist principle in general, that capital takes all the surplus beyond what is necessary for the labourers' support. Machinery, he complains, serves only the purpose of producing more surplus-value for the capitalists, who live by other people's labour (i. 405, *cf.* 385, 400). And according to the alleged iron law of wages, new inventions and better methods of production do not improve the condition of the labourers, their wages remaining as before, but all serve for the benefit of the upper classes, who live in idleness

43 From Goethe's poem *Das Göttliche (cf. Harzreise im Winter):* so Marx in a letter quoted by Simkhovitch, *Marxism versus Socialism*, 99n.

44 In its place he had an "iron law of proportionality"! i. 390; while his "laws of capitalist production" worked "with iron necessity toward inevitable results," 13.

and yet receive enhanced incomes, although the new wealth is produced by the labour of the labourers. Such are the lamentations constantly raised, as if historically proven. Thus more than a hundred years ago Godwin complained that though during the previous three centuries industry had increased perhaps tenfold, the poor still barely subsisted, and "they did as much before."[45] Lassalle and Marx and Engels fifty years later made the same complaint that the intervening extension of industrialism had done no good to anybody but the capitalists. And after still another fifty years Bellamy repeated it, saying that for instance the sewing-machine had only introduced the "sweating system," forgetful that the *Song of the Shirt* had been written just before that invention.[46] But history does not sanction this pessimistic claim. Though the lowest and most shiftless labourers, who, shirking work, are little better than non-labourers, may now be no better off than their mates were thousands of years ago (though even this may be doubted), yet the mass even of unskilled labourers are now able to feed and clothe and house themselves better than ever before, and their condition is steadily improving: they, too, have shared in the increased production. And when we examine the "iron law" as enunciated by its expounders, we find that even theoretically it is much rather a rubber law, containing much elasticity. For Lassalle himself defined it as a law by which "the average wage always remains reduced to the necessary provision which, according to the habits of the people, is required for subsistence and propagation."[47] And practically in the same

45 *Political Justice*, VIII. ii.

46 *Equality*, 236.—Hood's poem was published in the Christmas number of Punch, 1843. Howe invented the sewing-machine during 1844. In 1845 Engels wrote: "The girls who sew neckties must bind themselves to work sixteen hours a day, and receive 4½s. a week. But the shirtmakers' lot is the worst. They receive for an ordinary shirt 1½d. . . . For fine, fancy shirts, which can be made in one day of eighteen hours, 6d. is paid. The weekly wage of these sewing women . . . is 2s. 6d. to 3s. for most strained work continued far into the night. . . . The women must give a money deposit for a part of the materials entrusted to them, which they naturally cannot do unless they pawn a part of them, redeeming them at a loss; or if they cannot redeem the materials, they must appear before a Justice of the Peace, as happened to a sewing woman in November, 1843. A poor girl who got into this strait and did not know what to do next, drowned herself in a canal in 1844," *Condition of the Working Class in England in 1844*, p. 141. In 1846 W. H. Thornton said in London women worked at shirt-making eighteen hours a day, earning four shillings a week, *Over-population and its Remedy*, 60. In 1847 this was reported in New York: "There are now in this city, according to close estimates, ten thousand women who live by the earnings of the needle. On an average, these women, by working twelve or fourteen hours a-day, can earn only twelve and a half cents," cited by Miss C. E. Beecher, *The Evils Suffered by American Women and Children*, 6. Sometime later, before 1870, Miss Beecher wrote: "There are now thirty thousand women in New York whose labour averages from twelve to fifteen hours a day, and yet whose income seldom exceeds thirty-three cents a day. Operators on sewing-machines, and a few others, enjoy comparative opulence, gaining five to eight dollars a week," *Woman Suffrage and Woman's Profession*, 109–10. Since then further improvement may not have been great, but it has taken place.

47 *Gesamtwerke*, i. 15. On p. 17 he assigns the surplus products of labour to the *entrepreneurs;* who themselves are labourers!

terms the law of wages is stated by all the economists of the liberal school, from whom he obtained it,[48] and by Marx himself, as we have seen, and by most of their socialist followers, the reference to "habits," or the customary standard of living, being always included.[49] Now, as this standard changes in time and in different countries, it must at some time and in some countries be higher than the mere bare subsistence complained of. But how much higher than the minimum it now is in any country, or whether there is any limit to its rising, neither Lassalle's statement of his law nor Marx's analysis of the relations between the labourers and the capitalists shows, nor did either of these socialist leaders enter into a statistical and historical investigation of the subject; so we are left in the dark about it. But Marx himself had opinions on the subject, and they were in harmony with what he desired. For Marx was not pleased even with the idea of the stationary state of wages. His theory of value, indeed, presupposed this; but his "materialistic conception of history" could not rest content with it, because if it were a law of nature, it could not be altered, and if labourers had put up with it in the past, they might do so in the future.[50] What he wanted was that the condition of labourers (the proletariat), starting from a higher plane in the pre-capitalistic period, should become constantly worse under the capitalistic régime (as a special law of this system), so that in time their condition should become intolerable. Accordingly, as, when he first began to labour at his system (prior to 1850), the condition of workmen had, in one of the eddies of economic development (under falling prices, and after a sudden and wide introduction of machinery) been growing worse, he universalised this,[51] in spite of the fact that, when he published his book, there had already been a turn in their condition for the better. His views are falsified by facts as well as by their own inconsistencies.

But we are not done with Marx's inconsistencies. That some labourers, even mere labourers who possess nothing but their

48 Lassalle himself refers to Adam Smith, Ricardo, Malthus, Bastiat, J. S. Mill, *Gesamtwerke*, i. 17, *cf.* iii. 219–20.

49 And Spargo, who makes the mistake of thinking that Marx did not accept the "iron law," because he did not use the term and objected to it and to some of the ways in which the law was stated, himself allows that "the law of wages is one of considerable elasticity," *Socialism*, 264. Perhaps Turgot, one of the first to express this so-called law, is the only one of the liberals who has put it in the absolute form: "En tout genre de travail il doit arriver, et il arrive en effet, que le salaire de l'ouvrier se borne à ce qui lui est nécessaire pour se procurer sa subsistance," *Reflexions sur la Formation et la Distribution de la Richesse*, § 6. Yet Marx and Engels themselves put it in this form in their *Communist Manifesto*, Part II.! So stated this alleged law is false; and as usually stated, it merely asserts that everywhere and always there is a customary wage and that the labourers get it, without saying anything about the amount of the wage,—a valuable law indeed!

50 *Cf.* Simkhovitch, *Marxism versus Socialism*, 99–100.

51 *Capital*, i. 488–9, 709, 836.

labour-power, get more than the minimum of bare subsistence, is proved by the fact that Marx, applying his conclusions only to simple or unskilled labourers, admits "a hierarchy of labour-powers, to which there corresponds a scale of wages" (384), from the simple labourer up through the foremen, clerks, and superintendents to the managers or the *entrepreneurs,* who stand next to the capitalists. Their higher salaries he would explain by saying that the labour-power of greater skill is "of a more costly kind," because its production has "cost more time and labour" in education, training, etc.; and he maintains also, though there is no necessary connection between the two things, that because of its higher value the skilled labour-power "creates in equal times proportionally higher values than unskilled labour does" (220, *cf.* 191, 384, iii. 168). He thus apparently treats the higher employés like the lowest: they produce a value equal to what is paid them in a certain portion of the day's labour, and of an amount necessary for their maintenance, and beyond that they produce in the remainder of the day's labour a surplus-value which the capitalists take; and so the best paid officials of our present-day monster corporations, some of whom have received a hundred thousand dollars a year, would have as good a right (and a better, since he tells us the surplus-value produced by them is correspondingly greater) as the meanest hod-carrier, to complain that he was being robbed or cheated by the capitalists! Yet Marx's principle of cost-of-production does not allow for such large divergences of wages and salaries, since, whatever be the values created by skilled workmen and managers, it does not cost very much more labour to produce these higher hand-and-head-labourers than to produce a simple labourer, many even of the best managers having come out from the midst of simple labourers.[52] Other principles will account for the phenomenon, by ascribing exceptionally high salaries to exceptionally high talents, the value of the latter being enhanced by their rarity, and having a close analogy with the rental power of exceptionally fertile or well-located plots of ground;[53] by which, too, the exceptional earnings of such superior workers are perfectly justified, provided no dishonesty enters in, their exceptional capacity undoubtedly belonging to them. However this be, if Marx holds that such high salaries are higher than they ought to be, and their receivers partake of the booty wrung from the simple

52 According to the Marxist Gronlund, even salaries of $10,000 a year are too high, when common employés get no more than $800, *Co-operative Commonwealth,* 159, 160. He seems to consider $7,000 a year the limit, *The New Economy,* 104, *cf.* 48. *Cf.* above, p. 21, n. 18.

53 *Cf.* F. A. Walker, *Political Economy,* §§ 306–15.

labourers (*cf.* iii. 454), his principles do not account for this state of the case. Hence his theory either leads to an absurdity, or it runs up against something for which it cannot account. In either case it is wrong, and being wrong of some labourers, it may equally well be wrong of all.

The upshot of all this is that we learn nothing from Marx's lucubrations that will yield an answer to the important question before us. After reading his work from beginning to end we cannot know, from anything he tells us, whether to-day in any country the capitalists are getting more than they ought to get and the labourers less, or reversely, since the question is not by him even theoretically discussed what ought to be the proper division of the surplus-value between capital and labour.

Instead of discussing this question, Marx simply assumes that the capitalist ought not to get any of it, however small, and the labourer ought to get the whole of it. For he complains that "wages, by their very nature, always imply the performance of a certain quantity of unpaid labour on the part of the labourer," and even if by improvements this quantity of unpaid labour might be diminished, the "diminution can never reach the point at which it would threaten the system itself" (i. 678),—that is, in the capitalist system, the labourers can never get the whole surplus-value created by their labour, and never can capitalists be reduced to receiving nothing in return for the use of their capital. Here is one-sidedness on the other side, as extravagant in the matter of right as is his position in the matter of fact that the capitalists get all the surplus-value. That the labourers ought to get the whole of the surplus product, or its surplus-value, subtracting from the total only the value of the materials and of the machinery consumed in the process, which value the capitalist is allowed to handle, but without increase for his pains and his risk, is a claim which, to say the least, needs proof. Marx, however, has not provided this proof for his socialist followers. He has merely assumed it, be it repeated, though his false principles help him to it. But they help him to it only because he carefully fitted them in advance for the conclusion he intended to draw out of them. All value, he premised, is created by living human labour, and none by inanimate or non-human instruments of production. These latter can only transmute already created value from one form into another. New value comes only from the former. Capital, therefore, which consists of the latter, does not produce any value, and consequently its owners have not a right to take any new value as if coming from it.

The fundamental principle underlying all this has been shown to be wrong on the face of it; but we may further controvert it from Marx's own point of view. What is essential for the creation of new value (or rather of new valuable things) is power, and it is not essential by what the power is supplied, provided it be limited in quantity and appropriable. The free powers of nature are valueless only because they are unlimited and unappropriable. Those which are limited and appropriated, are supplied gratuitously by nature to their owners, but not so to the rest of mankind, who have to pay for them or for their products.[54] Now, the natural powers in horses, in machines, and in human slaves, are limited by the need of labour on the part of the immediate owners or users, in the first place to get them, and in the second place to keep them in working order. Beyond this cost, however, they yield an excess of value greater than their owners could have obtained without them. This excess is surplus-value in any one case as much as in the others. The muleteer who works his mule may get surplus-value out of it in addition to the surplus-value which he himself creates by working longer than is necessary for obtaining a bare subsistence. So the owner of the machine. So the owner of a slave. The conditions precedent and consequent are the same in all three cases.[55] A difference arises only when the slave changes his status. When he becomes free, he may, if he works for himself, keep the whole of the surplus-value he creates. And he may do so even if he works for another, bargaining for his hire while yet disengaged. By working the employer's machinery, he may yield to the employer, who does not labour, the surplus-value created by the machinery, while taking for himself the surplus-value of his own labour, now perhaps greater than before.

To carry out this scheme a measure is needed of the work done by the labourer and of the work done by the machine. Now, the work done by the labourer is evidently what he might do if he

54 This is practically admitted by Marx toward the end of his work, where he says that the owners of a waterfall used to run a mill may make "surplus-profit" above that made by owners of mills run by steam power, iii. 751. He merely refrains from speaking of it as "extra surplus-value" (although this was the definition of "surplus-profit," 210), and interprets the gain as made by the labour, which in this mill is "more productive" than in the others, 751–2. This is absurd (and for more nonsense in this connection see i. 682, and *cf.* 404), and is belied by his adding that the lucky owner of the waterfall "owes" the extra profit "in the last resort to a natural power," iii. 753, and that it "is not due to capital, but to the harnessing of a natural power, which can be monopolised, and has been monopolised, by capital," 756, or again, "to a limited natural power, separate from his capital, over which he has command, because he has a monopoly of it," 757. In this way Marx's explanation of rent comes back to Ricardo's. And it would be true of any community holding its land in common over against other communities, as much as of individuals holding land over against other individuals.

55 Marx himself sometimes inadvertently speaks of a machine yielding a profit, iii. 398, or of capital creating surplus-value, 886.

worked without machinery (supposing him to have access to land for materials, which is another question); for, as to-day every workman can supply himself with tools, these simple instruments may be viewed as incorporated in him. The additional work which a labourer may accomplish with the aid of a machine, is evidently done by the machine. As this factor is provided by the capitalist, the surplus-value produced by it is rightfully his. The labourer has a right only to what he could produce, by his whole day's labour, if unaided by the capitalist,— but also, if not interfered with by the capitalist (for instance, by his appropriating all the land).

Marx, of course, recognised that without some profit or surplus-value the capitalist would not engage his capital in industry. But Marx feared this not, because he desired to do away with the system itself — of capital and of labour as two distinct and mutually exclusive factors. He wished them to be amalgamated, the labourer becoming a capitalist and the capitalist a labourer; for the capitalist as a separate entity, he says, has become superfluous.[56] Yet the distinction would still remain. What the labourer gets *qua* labourer, would be short of what he further gets *qua* capitalist.[57] Present conditions merely separate in fact what is always separable in idea. Nature, to be sure, does not produce the condition of divorce between capital and labour; but far less does she produce the condition of their union on any great scale. She distinctly does provide means by which some capitalists need not be labourers, and by freeing them from the drudgery of manual labour, she has provided the means for advancing civilisation.

The analysis here made is different from Marx's. Marx assigned the total surplus-value beyond all necessary expenses to the account of the labourer's labour, and none to the energising of the machine or capital. Still, the fact remains that the la-

56 III. 455–6. This is part of his "materialistic conception of history" applied to the present and the future; for the future is to do away with what is now superfluous. He thinks it proved by the existence of co-operative societies and of stock-companies, 457–8, which show that both labourers and capitalists can hire at a *moderate* salary superintendents who will do *all* the function of superintending, 456; which is simply not so, and also leaves out the question of risk. It is, moreover, a nice idea that, after experimenting with inventions, applying improvements, saving, augmenting, accumulating capital, this, now that it exist in abundance, should be taken away from the owners. We may remember, too, as one of the teachings of history, that many things thought to be superfluous continue for ages.

57 Marx shows complete ignorance of the subject he is dealing with, when he says that if the labourers themselves were "in possession of their respective means of production" and exchanged their products with one another, then "these commodities would not be products of capital," iii. 207. Capital would enter into their production just as much as it now does. Its ownership alone would be altered. Marx obtains this position through an utterly wrong conception of capital, the definition of which he gives only toward the end of his work, as "the means of production employed by a certain part of society," iii. 948.

bourer is aided by the capitalist's capital.[58] And for this aid the labourer ought to pay. There is a service rendered by the labourer to the capitalist, indeed; but there also is a service rendered by the capitalist to the labourer. There is an exchange of services, and, as in every exchange, each side gets, or should get, an advantage, and neither ought to get the whole advantage.

And as a fact in the vast majority of exchanges there is an advantage on both sides, or else the one party would not enter into them. But the advantage is not always of the same kind, or measurable with equal plainness in money gained, often being a gain in money or effort saved. It will not be possible here to treat of the subject of exchanges. It can only be remarked that it has not been possible to find any norm furnished by nature for the proper or just sharing of the gains.[59] To say it should be equal on both sides, is unworkable. We may know that if there is cheating, with deceit, by one of the parties, his gain is unjust. Cheating may take place after the bargain is struck, and then its injustice is plain. It may also be applied before, with more insidious effects. There may be violence and constraint, and the putting of the other party at a disadvantage. All gains obtained in these ways are unjust. But such gains are not necessarily involved in the system of capitalism and wage-labour. It might be better if all labourers became capitalists also.[60] But the only right method for their becoming so is by saving,— not by appropriating the capital of others.

We must conclude, therefore, that Marx has not proved his point. He has not proved that the capitalist system is essentially a system of despoiling and exploiting labourers for the unearned benefit of idle capitalists. There has taken and does take place, in actuality, much despoiling and exploiting of labourers by capitalists (and mostly by labouring capitalists!); but if such injustice necessarily accompanies the present system, it may be only because it is inherent in human nature, and would likewise appear, perhaps to a greater, perhaps to a less extent, in any other system,— and in our system the despoiling of the capitalists by the labourers is not unknown. Marx's first volume (the other two are worthless[61]) contains much valuable historical

58 *Cf.* Gronlund: "Capital itself produces no value whatever; what it does, is, it enables labour to be immensely more productive," *Co-operative Commonwealth*, 18. Marx worded the idea thus: "The natural power is not the source of the surplus profit, but only its natural basis, because this natural basis permits an increase in the productive power of labour," iii. 757–8; *cf.* i. 682. But if machinery enables labour to produce more, it is the cause of the increased production.

59 Thus, *e.g.*, Cairnes could not "find in the maxims of abstract justice any key to the practical problems of the distribution of wealth," *Some Leading Principles of Political Economy*, 268.

60 *Cf.* Cairnes, *ib.*, 177–8, 284, 289, 291.

61 Except iii. 733–40.

information about the class conflict, especially in England. He shows how there the two classes of landowners and factory-owners played battle-dore and shuttle-cock with the class of hand-labourers: how the former ousted them from the land and threw them upon the towns, where the latter, having them at their mercy, bled them, and then turned against the land-owners, desiring cheaper food for lower wages; then how the landowners in revenge came to the rescue of the factory-labourers, though still maltreating the labourers they had retained on the farms; and how at last, between the two sets and by the self-assertion of the labourers, their lot was slightly alleviated, as an earnest (he thought) of how much more the labourers might do if they took the whole matter in their own hands. In all this he does reveal much real exploitation of labour; but he vitiates his work by confusing unfairness and cheating with his idea that every gain whatever made by capital is robbery. He has, too, by this perverted the minds of many labourers, and done incalculable harm, and threatened ruin to society. There is ample reason why the present capitalistic system should be amended; but Marx shows not a single good reason why it should be ended.

CHAPTER VII.

THE SOCIALIST THEORY AS TO LAND — DOVE'S AND GEORGE'S

THE injustice of private property in capital not having been proved, the question remains about the injustice of private property in land. Land, indeed, may itself be viewed as capital, in a broad sense of the term, meaning anything used in production or as a source of income. But the fact that land is not produced while other capital is itself produced, introduces a difference so important that it has been usual to confine the term "capital" to a narrow definition, as anything produced that is used in production, and to set land over against it as another species of thing. As it is this differentia which causes the distinction in the question of property right, the narrow sense of "capital" is the more convenient for our purpose.

The clearest and only direct right to property is that of the producer to his product. As land cannot be produced by man, if man can own land, it must be by some other kind of right. The right to land is derived from necessity. "Necessity," says Blackstone, speaking of land, "begat property."[1] When men become numerous, land acquires value in their eyes, and they fight for it, taking possession of it by occupation, some of some, others of other, until for the sake of peace they agree to recognise one another's ownership of what they occupy and possess. So tribes as tribes, so families as families, so individuals as individuals. The purpose of ownership is to give peaceful possession, and to secure to the labourer the anticipated fruits of his labour. For this purpose men appropriate land, and land is the only thing, except occasional waifs and estrays, that can be appropriated without wrong; for one does not appropriate what he produces or what is given to him, as he already owns it, and to appropriate what another rightfully produces, without his consent, is to do him an injury. Thus, while property in one's product is by nature, property in land is by convention.

Here arises a difficulty. A man cannot produce the material of his product. What right, then, has he to own that material? Thus the question about the ownership of land, whence come all

1 *Commentaries*, ii. 8.

materials (except the little that comes from the sea, which comes only by means of instruments obtained from the land), precedes the ownership of products:[2] a natural right depends on a conventional right.[3] Were it the other way, and the conventional right depended on the natural right, there would be no difficulty. But nature herself fails to provide us with our first right, and leaves the question to our own decision — by contention first, and by convention afterward.[4]

In primitive times, when land was so abundant relatively to the people occupying it, that the last appropriation of it, by individuals, was not yet conceived of, this difficulty did not exist. Then anybody could take the raw materials supplied by nature, and whatever he made out of them was his. His natural right to his own product was preceded by no one else's prior right. When the time came that any one could raise the question who owned the land, the answer might be: the tribe, or community. But this answer would at first apply only to the tribe's or community's ownership of its land over against contiguous tribes or communities. With reference to the land held by the tribe or community, from which any member of the tribe might take what he pleased, the answer properly was, as long as this condition lasted, that the land belonged to nobody. But if this condition came to be consciously permitted by the community, then the community had appropriated the land even with regard to its own members, and though every member could still say that he

2 Thus Grotius, criticising the jurisconsult Paulus (who had said: "Genera possessionum tot sunt, quot et causae adquirendi ejus quod nostrum sit: velut . . . sicut in his quae terra marique vel ex hostibus capimus vel quae ipsi, ut in rerum natura essent, fecimus," *Digest,* XLI. ii. 4, § 21), says that as we can make only out of pre-existing material, if this is ours, the product is ours; if nobody's, it must be acquired; if somebody else's, the product does not *naturaliter* belong to us, *De Jure Belli ac Pacis,* II. iii. 3. In fact, the Roman law was much exercised about the ownership of a product made by one person out of material belonging to another: see *Institutes,* II. i. §25 seq., *Digest,* XLI. i. 7, § 7 seq. The only original principle is this: "Quod ante nullius est, id naturali ratione occupanti conceditur," *Institutes,* II. i. § 12, *Digest,* XLI. i. 3.

3 Accordingly Thiers had to confess that the first act by which property is obtained, is occupation, and labour only a second, *De la Propriété,* 111–12. And Mill had to abandon his "foundation" and his "essential principle," and add that "this principle cannot apply to what is not the produce of labour, the raw material of the earth," [which enters every product!], *Political Economy,* II. ii. § 5. But sometimes this difficulty is not observed, as by Léon Faucher in an essay *Du Droit au Travail,* where, admitting that the right to the possession of land is not natural, he nevertheless says that land belongs legitimately to him who appropriates it by labour, and maintains that labour creates property in land as well as in other things, in *Mélanges d'economie politique et de Finance,* Paris, 1856, vol. ii. p. 143. Locke had tried to substantiate this claim by the consideration that people mix their labour with land (as with other things), *Of Civil Government,* §§ 27, 32, 39; and by the allegation that most of the value of land comes from the labour expended upon it, §§ 37, 40, 43; in which last he is followed by many liberal economists, as notably by Carey and Bastiat, but all beside the mark as to that portion of the value of land (often great) which is not due to the labour expended upon it by either its owners or occupants.

4 *Cf.* Pufendorf: "Proprietas rerum immediate ex conventione hominum, tacita aut expressa, profluxit, *De Jure Naturæ et Gentium,* IV. iv. 4 *cf.* 9 *sub fine;* for the sake of peace, 6, *cf.* 11, 14, v. 3.

had as good a right as another to the materials he took from the land, his equal right was not by nature, but by convention. This conventionality of land-ownership became still plainer with advance in density of population, which at last, when all the land is occupied, leads, for its peaceful possession, to the establishment of individual ownership; and then plainer also becomes the posteriority of the natural right to the ownership of one's own products. For now no man can own what he produces without first considering whether he owns the material it is produced out of; which ownership is ultimately determined by the ownership of the land the material was obtained from. Thus the question of the ownership of land becomes the fundamental question of all property rights; and the natural right to own one's products is conditioned by the conventional right to own land.

This difficulty, however, might be escaped, if it could be shown that although individuals cannot have any natural right to land separately, they may have a natural right to it collectively. This course has been entered upon by the two great deniers of the right to private property in land, Dove and George, who treated the surplus from land, or rent, in much the same way as Marx treated the surplus from capital, or profit, as robbery of the labouring population, if taken by idle owners. Both Dove and George held that the only right to private property is the natural right to what one produces;[5] and therefore, they said, as we do not produce land, we can have no private right to land, and consequently only a public or common right, all men having by nature an equal right to the land, or equal ownership of it.[6] All men do not wish to use land equally, some needing more for one purpose, some less for another. Therefore the *possession* of land may be unequal, and this unequal possession of land may be regulated by convention. But no one must be hindered from using land, who wishes it, if there be any not so well used as it may be used by him; yet for all exceptional advantage, or surplus of produce yielded to the same amount of labour, derivable

5 Dove, *The Theory of Human Progression*, 1850 (New York ed., 1895), p. 307, *cf.* 22, 39, 294; *The Elements of Political Science*, Edinburgh, 1854, pp. 158, 249, 251, 256, 295, 316. George, *Our Land and Land Policy*, viii. 85; *Progress and Poverty*, i. 333; *A Perplexed Philosopher*, v. 211 (the references to volumes are to those of his *Complete Works*, New York, 1904).

6 Dove: "It [the earth] belongs equally to all the existing inhabitants," *Human Progression*, 308, *cf.* 44, 312; "All living men are equal in their natural right to the earth," *Political Science*, 170, *cf.* 254, 256, 257. George: "The broad principle that land is rightly common property," *The Land Question*, iii. 64, *cf.* 106. "The equal right of all men to the use of land" is George's usual expression, *P. and P.*, i. 336, *Protection or Free Trade*, iv. 280, 289. Of course others had made similar statements before, as *e.g.*, Th. Spence, *The Meridian Sun of Liberty; or the whole Rights of Man displayed and most accurately defined*, London, 1796, p. 6; Colins, *Le Pacte social*, 1835; but without drawing out the full consequences, or supplying a workable scheme for doing so.

from particular spots, he must pay its value to the community, since he has no more right to it than any one else. This pay for the use of exceptional land is rent; and the community should take it, because the *ownership* of land remains in the community.[7]

The reasoning of these thinkers is correct enough after the laying down of a few principles, and if their principles were rightly laid down, their conclusions would be of necessary consequence. Unfortunately there is a hitch near the beginning.

That individuals have by nature a private right to land, and that the community has by nature a common right to the land, are not contradictory propositions such that, the first being false, the second must be true. For the contradictory of the first is: No individuals have by nature a private right to the land; and the proposition that the community, made up of all individuals, have by nature a common right to the land, which is the same with saying that every individual has by nature an equal right to the land, is another different proposition, a contrary or opposite proposition to the first, and one standing on its own feet, and needing demonstration, if it be not self-evident or axiomatic.

Is it self-evident that the community — and the community only — has the right to the land? Proof that it is not self-evident, is at hand in the fact that it has very commonly been disregarded even in theory, as people do not generally disregard in theory what is self-evident. The other proposition, that everybody has a natural right to his product (to what in a material thing he has produced really as his product — its new shape), is never disregarded at least in theory; for everybody at once recognises its truth. But everybody does not at once recognise, or even at length admit, the truth of the proposition that everybody has a natural right to the land equally with everybody else. And as clinching proof of this is the fact that Dove and George themselves did not always treat this proposition as a self-evident or axiomatic truth, but proceeded to argue for it, and, as they believed, to demonstrate it, by relying on anterior self-evident, demonstrative, or accepted principles.

Dove did so by appealing to revelation as delivered in *Psalm* cxv. 16, which says that "God gave the earth to the children of men,"[8] in which case God's right to his own product passes by gift to mankind.[9] This principle of course is authoritative only

7 Marx, however, said: "Even a whole society, a nation, or even all societies together, are not the *owners* of the globe. They are only its *possessors*," *Capital*, iii. 901–2. But this is only one of Marx's dogmatic absurdities. Dove said the earth belonged to its Creator, *Political Science*, 242, 253; but then, as we shall see, he held that its Owner had *given* it to mankind, to whom, therefore, the title passes.

8 *Human Progression*, 187, 276, 297, 298, 308.

9 And if God did not make matter itself in the first place, even God would not

to those who accept the Bible as a revelation — as, to use Dove's words, "the first great condition of true knowledge."[10] But even on the supposition that the Bible is a revelation, this statement does not involve what he derives from it; for he treats it as if it said "God gave the earth to all the children of men equally," which is more than it does say. "The gift," Dove asserts, "is general" and therefore "to all individuals alike."[11] But a general statement is not necessarily a universal statement, from which alone this consequence flows. Men might own the earth unequally, and with private right, and yet that general statement would be true.[12] Moreover, the Bible also says of certain persons that God gave the land to them alone.[13] And the Hebrews themselves, who knew best what their book meant, owned only the land of Canaan, which alone had been given to them;[14] and they owned it unequally, and bought and sold land, though under certain reservations,[15] as, without any reservations, Abraham and Jacob had done in the first place,[16] and Pharaoh, too, under Joseph's divinely inspired guidance.[17] They were, furthermore, commanded not to covet one another's fields any more than one another's wives, although that, it must be admitted, may refer only to possession and not necessarily to ownership;[18] yet Ahab was punished even more severely for despoiling Naboth of his vineyard than David was for stealing away his wife from Uriah.[19] The meaning of the passage in the *Psalms,* therefore, on the whole, seems to be merely that God gave the dominion of all the earth to men rather than to any other species of animals, in accordance with *Genesis* i. 26 (*cf* ix. 2); which is as much carried out with the land under private as with it under common ownership.[20]

have owned it or have had a right to use it, according to some of the Christian Fathers, whence (as one of its arguments) they deduced the doctrine of creation from nothing.

10 *Op. cit.,* 65, *cf.* 80.

11 *Political Science,* 254.

12 Likewise such indefinite statements as those of some Christian Fathers to the effect that God gave the earth to all mankind in common, although with their professed indifference to worldly things they sometimes drew another conclusion therefrom. Thus Basil, according to Rufinus's translation of one of his *Homilies:* "Terra communiter omnibus hominibus data est: proprium nemo dicat, quod e communi plusquam sufficeret sumptum, et violenter obtentum est," *Opera,* ii. 725 (or in Migne's ed., iii. col. 1752). And Ambrose: "In commune omnibus divitibus atque pauperibus terra fundata est," *De Nabuthe Israelita,* c. 1; but in *De Officiis,* I. 28, he adds: "usurpatio jus fecit privatum."

13 *Job,* XV. 19.

14 *Joshua,* XXIV. 13; *Deut.* XXVI. 15 (*cf.* II. 5); *Jer.* XXXII. 22.

15 Because, after all, God retained ownership of it, according to *Levit.* XXV. 23.

16 *Gen.* XXIII. 8–18, *cf.* XLIX. 30, L. 13, *Acts,* VII. 16; *Gen.* XXXIII. 19, *cf. Josh.* XXIV. 32.

17 *Gen.* XLVII. 20, 22.

18 *Cf.* George, *Condition of Labor,* iii. 43–4.

19 *I. Kings,* XXI., *II. Sam.* XI.–XII.

20 Locke knew of *Psalm* CXV. 16 as well as did Dove, and he also knew of *Genesis* I. 28 (the command to subdue the earth, by labour), whence he argued that the first men were under a command to appropriate the land, *Of Civil Government,* §§ 32–5.

Dove also had to read still something more into that revelation than is expressed in it. For he had to interpret it as meaning that God did not at some time once and for all give the earth to its then inhabitants, to be disposed of by them as they pleased or found best, as in fact Canaan was disposed of by the Hebrews after their conquest of it, that is, as they believed, after God *gave* it to them; but that God *gives* it always to its present inhabitants, wherever and however numerous they may be; and that therefore every newcomer, every child that is born, has an equal right to the land with everybody else already here, especially as it would require another revelation to establish "the doctrine that one individual is born with more rights than another," [21] which he thinks has not been made, in spite of the claim of the Jews to be the chosen people of God and the passages in the Bible on which it rests.[22] Consequently it follows that, though a generation of men may give away their birthright and grant land to individuals, yet they cannot give away the birthright of the next generation: [23] they cannot make a valid grant of land to perpetuity; all they, or the state as their agent, can do, is to give possession, for the time being.[24] Possession, indeed, must be granted: land, says Dove, "must be possessed by individuals for purposes of cultivation" [25]— or in general, for occupancy and use: the land so granted must be used by the grantee, or else he shall have no title to it against another who desires to use it. Such private possession is different from private ownership. To permit the private ownership of land is to permit an individual to exclude all others from this land, even though he does not use it himself, and when the state sanctions this, says Dove, it deprives others of their equal right to the use of the land; whereas in granting possession, the state is only regulating and securing the use of the land to those who desire to use it.[26] Moreover, when the state supports an owner in the exclusion of others from land he is not using, it is really introducing a new crime, unknown to nature — the crime of putting unused land to use, conformably to one's equal right.[27] For crime is by nature, and law

Pufendorf says God gave the earth to mankind generally, but left to them the manner of disposing of it, *De Jure Nat. et Gent.*, IV. iv. 4, *cf.* 9, 10, and 11. Moreover, this sort of reasoning would lead to the communism of all things, because we have the equally good revelation that God "giveth us richly all things to enjoy," *I. Tim.* VI. 17, which is even more definite by being in the present tense.

21 *Human Progression*, 299; *cf.* Spencer, *Social Statics*, ch. IX. § 5, also §§ 3, 4.

22 Also how about *Romans*, XIII. 1, 7, IX. 21, *I. Cor.* XII. 28–9?

23 *Human Progression*, 300–1, 301, 302, 303, 305, 306, 309; *Political Science:* "The gift can only be granted on the consent of each member," 254.

24 *Human Progression*, 269.

25 *Op. cit.*, 308.

26 *Op. cit.*, 271–6.

27 *Op. cit.*, 273.

is God-made, and man's laws should forbid no action that is not a crime, and they have no validity when they do forbid such actions;[28] wherefore laws regulating men's actions with regard to land may be revoked as well as laws regulating their other actions.[29] As George reached similar conclusions on a somewhat similar line of reasoning, criticism may be deferred.

George made a different start. He did not content himself with revelation, but employed natural religion or philosophy. Even the natural right to own one's product he based on an earlier right of the individual to himself.[30] This right to one's product is the only original right an individual can have of private property in anything or exclusive ownership of anything.[31] Yet of land, which no man produces, every individual has an equal right to the ownership, limited by the equal rights of all others.[32] How is this further right of common property in land obtained? George sometimes elliptically derives it directly from the fact of our being equally the children of God, and therefore "equally entitled to share his bounty."[33] But his full argument involves the following series of rights: Because "we are all here by the equal permission of the Creator," or "of Nature,"[34] therefore (1) every one has an equal right to live,[35] therefore (2) an equal right to labour and to produce, and (3) to own what one produces,[36] and consequently (4) an equal right to the use of the land. Unfortunately, George was often unprecise in his argumentation. Thus he sometimes treated the second as a primary right,[37] or, worse yet, identified it with the third;[38] and sometimes derived the fourth directly from the alleged fact laid down at the beginning,[39] or again from the first right,[40] or treated it as self-evident.[41] Yet the sequence is plain. The sec-

28 *Op. cit.*, 277, 283; 267, 294; *cf. Political Science*, 163–7. Likewise George, *Condition of Labour*, iii. 11, *Social Problems*, ii. 169, 170, 173, 211–12.

29 *Human Progression*, 270, 275, 279.

30 *Our Land and Land Policy*, viii. 85, *P. and P.*, i. 332, *Condition of Labour*, iii. 4–5; also viii. 210, 247–8, 312–13, and *A Perplexed Philosopher*, v. 210, 212, 228–9. *Cf.* Locke, *Of Civil Government*, 27, referred to by George in v. 30.

31 George recognised the several secondary rights to property once produced. "That which a man produces," he says, "that is his against all the world, to give or to keep, to lend, to sell or to bequeath," viii. 210; to which correspond in others the rights of receiving, borrowing, buying, and inheriting. On the transmission of the full right to property compare v. 212.

32 i. 343, ii. 96, v. 27–30.

33 viii. 289, *cf.* 88, 291.

34 i. 336, ii. 36; or "with His fiat, by His decree," viii. 285.

35 ii. 36. For this he often appeals to the Declaration of Independence, but rather for the purpose of keeping us to consistency in carrying out what is involved therein.

36 "The right to live, the right to work, the right to enjoy the fruits of one's work," viii. 302, *cf.* v. 240.

37 ii. 97, 98.

38 ii. 96, and so in the principal exposition of his argument, i. 333–5, 338.

39 viii. 85, 86, i. 336, *The Land Question*, iii. 37.

40 *Land Question*, iii. 36–7. He here says: "If the new-born infant has an equal right to life, then has it an equal right to land."

41 *Protection or Free Trade*, iv. 280, *cf.* 289.

ond right flows from the first because men cannot live without consuming, and cannot consume without producing. One man may consume without producing; for he may consume the produce of others. But this cannot be universal, and so, as it cannot be a right equally belonging to all, it is not a natural right. The third is a natural right not derived from the preceding, but merely following it because it cannot be exercised till that is exercised. The fourth is consequent upon the second and third because a man cannot labour without land to labour on,[42] and the equal right to labour and to own one's produce would be infringed if any one could own land which he does not use and exclude others from it unless they consent to pay him for the use of it, such private ownership being, in fact, desired for the very purpose of taking from others a portion of their produce.[43] All these rights are considered inalienable: that is, if any man or generation should give them up for themselves, they could not do so for others, and any newcomer into the world comes into all these rights equally with all the persons already present.[44]

From the last of the above rights, the argument now runs, it directly follows that no one can rightly own more land than others, and consequently either that all persons must have allotted to them an equal plot (an equally valuable plot) of land, or that all must own all the land in common. The first of these alternatives is impractical with exactness at any time, and especially so in our complex civilisation. The second is practicable either directly or indirectly — indirectly by allowing present owners to retain nominal ownership, but to require them to hand over the rents they collect, *minus* only a commission, to the state.[45] In either its direct or indirect application, the second alternative involves that the actual use of the land is not to be divided equally among men, and their possession of land may be unequal; but whatever any one gains above his fellows by possessing more or better land, either from his own or another's labour, he is to lose again by being required to pay it back in rent to the common fund for all.[46] If a person does not do this,— George now vociferously declares what Dove nearly passed over in silence,[47]— he is com-

42 ii. 98–9. *Cf.* Dove, *Political Science*, 118–19.

43 i. 334–5, ii. 98, 112–13, viii. 82, 86; 211, 260.

44 viii. 85, *cf.* 87; i. 337, *Land Question*, iii. 37, 52–3, *Condition of Labour*, iii. 7. He quotes Jefferson also to the effect that "the earth belongs in usufruct to the living," ii. 205, *Property in Land*, iii. 48, *Condition of Labour*, iii. 7, and viii. 209–10.

45 i. 403, 405.

46 *Cf. Condition of Labour*, iii. 19.

47 In his first work Dove virtually treated the matter in the same way, and once denounced the alienation of the soil from the state as "the grand masterpiece of mischief," *Human Progression*, 245, *cf.* 259, 269. But in his second work he came

mitting robbery on society.[48] Sometimes he speaks of it as robbery of the user of land by the owner of land.[49] This is a slip. The landowner takes only that which the tenant should pay any way, but which should go to the community.[50] But the community itself robs many of its members when it permits some to seize the birthright of all, to exclude the rest at their pleasure, and to appropriate the revenue that belongs to no one more than another,[51]— in fact, legalising this system of robbery of the many by the few, of the producers by the idlers.[52] George's language is often merely general.[53] But he pronounces the Proudhonian phrase restricted: "Private property in land is robbery,"[54]—"a bold, bare, enormous wrong, like that of chattel slavery," which merely does the same thing more directly.[55]

Now, in criticism of all this, be it noted that the contention of right has a very weak staple at the start, and the more weight is hung on it, the more fragile it becomes. God's permission cannot be a source of right, since it is equally a source of wrong. Men come into the world not by a fiat of God, but by an act of their parents. To be sure, the laws of nature or of God must co-operate; but they do the same when one man kills another. Responsible for the newcomer is not God, nor society, but his parents.[56] An infant's right to live is his parents' duty to rear it. If its parents die, and there be no relatives, it is pure charity (if not an act of policy) on the part of the state to succour it. George says it would be equally criminal to drown the baby of a peasant as to drown the baby of a duchess.[57] But the right not to be killed is very different from the right to be supported. The right to live, equally belonging to all in like circumstances, is a

out with it: the labouring classes (including manufacturers), who pay both rent and taxes, are robbed, *Political Science*, 284, *cf.* 295.

48 *Condition of Labour*, iii. 39.

49 i. 339, *Property in Land*, iii. 54–5, *Condition of Labour*, iii. 34, 46, 83.

50 *Cf. Condition of Labour*, iii. 39–40.

51 i. 338, ii. 76, *Condition of Labour*, iii. 7, 17, 46, v. 67, viii. 249.

52 ii. 110–11, *Land Question*, iii. 51, *cf.* 41, 49–50, 62, viii. 248.

53 ii. 79, 103, 107, *Condition of Labour*, iii. 5, 83, viii. 204.

54 i. 368.

55 i. 356. He frequently speaks of the "white slaves" of England, ii. 102, *Land Question*, iii. 61, *Property in Land*, iii. 69, and v. 231. Similarly Herbert Spencer had pronounced the private appropriation of land "an injustice of the gravest nature," *Social Statics*, ix. § 9, a "gigantic injustice," for which "the civil power is responsible," xxi. § 7. He, too, spoke of the rest being "robbed," ix. § 9, xx. § 3; and made the comparison with slavery, ix. § 9. Dove also harped upon this comparison, *Human Progression*, 284–93; and likewise compared the corn-laws with slavery, 109–25. George, again, also treated our tariff exactions as robbery, v. 205, 210, the state having no right to take the (earned) property of individuals, *ib.* 207, 212, *Condition of Labour*, iii. 8, 11, 13, 52, 88, viii. 313; while he considered private property in land "the robber that takes all that is left," iv. 267.

56 Otherwise there is no truth in these words of Gail Hamilton (Mary Abigail Dodge): "To give life to a sentient being, without being able to make provision to turn life to the best account,— to give life, careless whether it will be bale or boon to the recipient,— is the sin of sins. Every other sin mars what it finds. This makes what it mars." *Woman's Wrongs*, Boston, 1868, p. 199.

57 *Land Question*, iii. 36.

right to action — to defend oneself: a right conditioned upon one's ability to exercise it.[58] In an infant, apart from its parents' duty, it is nil.

The right to labour in order to support oneself is no better founded than the right to live. Like it, it is a right to action, and is conditioned by one's ability to exercise it. In a total cripple it is nil; and if he lives, it is either by the duty of his parents or by the charity of others. In persons who can exercise it, it is equal in the sense that any one would be equally wronged if he were deprived of it. But it is not required that others should supply him (any one) with ability to exercise it. That the state owes it to him,[59] is an unjustified assertion, unless the state has already voluntarily assumed the charge. Ability is twofold — from within and from without. From within he may be helped by others if they choose to educate him; but he has no right to education except from his parents: if the state gives it, it is for the state's own purposes — for the benefit of others as much as of him. From without he may be helped by others making room for him on the earth's surface. If the earth is sparsely occupied, there will naturally be room for him. If it is fully occupied (which means, if the others find themselves crowded), it is for his parents to make and leave room for him. A person brought into the world by parents that have not means of supporting more than themselves, is injured by them, since they have brought him into existence in spite of their inability to do their duty toward him. He is like a cripple, and if he survives, his right to labour is conditioned upon his ability to induce some one else to provide him with means to labour. If he is excluded from land, he owes his exclusion to his parents, who begot him notwithstanding their own exclusion from it. But land is not the only thing necessary for keeping him alive. He may labour working up materials that have been extracted from the land by others, bargaining with them for a share in the final products.[60]

58 It is obviously in this sense that it is used in the Declaration of Independence. "What is it that we mean by rights?" asked Spencer, and he answered: "Nothing else than freedom to exercise the faculties," *Social Statics*, XVI. § 2, *cf.* IV. § 2.

59 Perhaps first asserted by Montesquieu, in the form of the state's owing to all its citizens "assured subsistence," *Esprit des Lois*, XXIII. c. 29. The "droit au travail" was first emphasised by Fourier (who derived it from *Genesis* III. 19) in his *Théorie de l'Unité universelle*, 1819. This "right to have work" is very different from a "right to work" ("droit de travailler") which everybody has and which everybody is willing enough to accord to everybody else. *Cf.* Léon Faucher, *op. cit.*, 146–7. George, however, did not commit this confusion: see ii. 98, *Condition of Labour*, iii. 90, viii. 298.

60 Malthus inserted in the second edition of his *Essay* (p. 531) a passage which became famous, but which he had not the courage to retain in subsequent editions: — "A man who is born into a world already possessed, if he cannot get subsistence from his parents, on whom he has a just demand, and if the society does not want his labour, has no claim of *right* to the smallest portion of food, and, in fact, has no business to be where he is. At Nature's mighty feast there is no vacant cover for

Moreover, an equal right to the land is not a right to an equal amount of land, any more than the equal right which every one has to own what is given him is a right to have equal amounts given him as may be given to anybody else. We may all have an equal right to inherit, without having a right to an equal inheritance. We may every one have as good a right as any one else to live, without having a right to live as well as any one else. The only proper meaning of the assertion that we all have an equal right to land, is that every one should be able to get it as anybody else gets it — by inheritance or by gift, if his parents or others bequeath or give any to him, or by purchase if he has the money to pay the price, or by settling upon or acquiring from the state unoccupied land, if there is any to be had. In the first two respects land is like commodities that may be obtained by inheritance or gift or by purchase; but it differs from them in the last, since commodities are originally acquired by labour and land by appropriation. But if the whole land of a country, fully occupied, is forbidden to be sold, or if the policy of the landowners is not to sell it, and if, the landowners being few and the applicants many, the landowners exact exorbitant charges and impose arbitrary conditions for the use of the land and withhold some of it altogether, this constitutes a condition of monopoly of land, and like monopolies of commodities it is an infringement upon the freedom of the many (which they are foolish to allow), since a few are put in an exceptional position of advantage. But this is not a condition inherent in the private ownership of land, any more than other monopolies are inherent in the private ownership of capital.

It is to insure the equal right of all to the land that Dove and George would have the land, so to speak, put up at auction frequently (though they have said little or nothing about the periods), not for sale, but to lease; for George's scheme amounts

him. She tells him to be gone, and will quickly execute her own orders." Society, to be sure, unless it undertakes to regulate births, has no more responsibility for this man's going than for his coming. The responsibility of parents should not be shirked by shoving it off unto others. Society may, out of charity, or for a purpose, assume it to a less or greater extent. To Christians like F. Huet the above passage seems execrable; but Huet, like George, believed that "It is God who has commanded the man to come upon the earth," *Le Regne social du Christianisme*, Paris, 1853, p. 254, as if it would not then be God who commanded him to go! Huet, by the way, followed Dove and preceded George in holding that all persons have an equal right to the earth, which he derived from the quality of a human being and the right to live, 243–4, *cf.* 264, and not from first occupation, but from an equal right to occupy, belonging to human beings as such, 251–2. After a first equal division among all men and women, 259, 261, he would admit all newcomers (except voluntary immigrants from another country, 253–4, *cf.* 262) to an equal share by requiring the patrimony of every deceased person to return to society and every year a division of all such returns to be made to those arriving of age, 265–6, 268, 273–4, while leaving to every one the right of bequeathing his gains to his children for one life, 266, 270–1 (therefore in trust for the state, the heirs receiving only the income), every one being obliged to support his own children during their infancy, 264.

to this in the end;[61] so that those who bid most can have it, and the community receives the rent. Then all who want it and are able, may obtain it in the same way; and their equal right to it, though they obtain unequal amounts, is respected. The right of all to an equal amount of it, however, is respected, by all sharing equally in the public benefits from the revenue of the state thus obtained in rent from the land. But here a right is respected that has not been proved to exist.[62]

If, besides the equal right with others to compete for the possession of land, every one has the right to an equal portion of land or an equal share in the surplus product, or rent, of land, who are the "all" who share the land thus in common? and what is the land thus shared? A true principle must be consistent in its application. This principle cannot be; and the trouble recurs which we have seen besetting socialism in general in case it were to be adopted. At one moment George speaks of "the equal right of all" to the use of the land,[63] which can only mean the equal right of all persons in the world—"the race" (so Dove expressed it[64]—to all the land of the earth. At another, he speaks of the equal right of all the men in Ireland to the land of Ireland.[65] He even says that every child born in London has as good a right to the landed estate of the Duke of Westminster there lying, as the eldest son of that landlord.[66] More usually it is a vague "community" that owns the land it covers,[67] or "the commonalty,"[68] frequently "the people,"[69] sometimes the still vaguer "society,"[70] and occasionally a "nation" or "the state."[71] Here is much indefiniteness as to the real owners of land. A people dwelling on a barren tract may live a miserable existence, and an adjoining region may be fertile, and its people abounding in wealth. If the two regions formed one country, ruled as George would have them ruled, the people on the barren tract would share in the surplus rent from the fertile soil of the other. If they

61 *Cf. P. and P.*, i. 435, *Land Question*, iii. 55. Dove's first suggestion was like George's, *Human Progression*, 311. But in his second work it is precisely this, that the state should take over the ownership of all the land within its borders, and let it out to individuals, taking the rent for public purposes, and dispensing with other modes of taxation, *Political Science*, 256, 260, 318, 330. He would have the auctions at "stated periods," 320 (and suggests every twenty years, 323n.). Similarly Spencer, *Social Statics*, IX. § 8, X. § 2.

62 George later introduced the distinction that, while all have only an equal right to land, they have a joint right to rent, v. 242. But he did not prove the latter either.

63 i. 336.

64 *Human Progression*, 297, 298, 308, 309, *cf.* 303, 305.

65 *Land Question*, ch. v., the title of which is "Whose land is it?"

66 i. 337–8, *cf. Land Question*, iii. 58; also viii. 248.

67 i. 342.

68 v. 242.

69 *Land Question*, iii. 36–7, 106.

70 So Spencer, who uses also "the country," "the nation," "the community," and "mankind at large," *Social Statics*, IX. § 8, X. § 2, IX. § 3.

71 Dove, *Human Progression*, 311, 245; 259, 269n.; *Political Science*, 170, 318, 330.

formed two countries, though both were ruled as recommended by George, the people of the barren land would be excluded from the surplus of the fertile land. Would they, then, have a right to demand union with the fertile country, in order to share its advantages? According to the general principle of the equal right of all men to an equal use of all land, they would have this right, and the people of the fertile country would have no right to reject their plea, or to exclude them or any other people, from the superior advantages of their land.[72] Yet George himself was an advocate of the exclusion of the Chinese from California.[73] In doing this, he was acting only in accordance with a principle that the people already in California have the exclusive right to the land of California; yet the land of California is a purely artificial division of the surface of the earth, and it was a pure accident that the white men arrived there before the yellow men.[74] There is, then, a merely artificial basis for the application of the natural principle; which again shows that in this matter of land art or man's contrivance comes before nature. George treats the subject as though nature, or nature's God, already gives an answer to the question: Who owns the land? Yet he has not himself been able to find a consistent answer to it. He complains that in Ireland, for instance, as elsewhere, "the claim of the landlords to the land rests not on natural right, but merely on municipal law."[75] Yet he cannot place it on natural right without limiting and hedging this in by some law or convention of man's making, which assigns certain land to be the land of a certain people. Have the people of the rest of Ireland, for instance, a better right to the land of Ulster, than the people of Great Britain to the land of Ireland? In our country, also, it would be difficult to establish whether the nation or the States should own the land; — and why the States rather than the counties in them, or the counties rather than the townships, or communes. The fact is, therefore, that all ownership of

72 If it be said that every people ought to be content with the condition of the land where God has placed them, it would equally be maintainable that every individual ought to be content with the condition of the land, whether he owns much, little, or none, where God has placed him.

73 *Life of Henry George,* 193–203.

74 "Individual claims to land," he complains, "rest only on appropriation," viii. 210, *cf.* ii. 53. But a people's claim to land rests on nothing else. Appropriation, he allows, can give some right to possession, as to seats at a banquet, but not to more than one needs, to the exclusion of others, i. 342–3, 388, v. 28–30, viii. 210–11, 246, *cf.* 175; or it must rest only on the "right of strength," which he repudiates, *Property in Land,* iii. 47. But the white men in California seized more than they needed, and as a people began to exclude another people. According to Thomas More, we may remember, the Chinese would have had a right to go to war with the Californians for their land: see above, p. 64, n. 40. Indeed, it was on this principle that the Americans took California from the Mexicans. What George says on this subject in *Property in Land,* iii. 48, is not consistent with his advocacy of excluding the Chinese.

75 *Land Question,* iii. 39–40.

land must rest, not indeed on municipal law, but on state or national law, and on international agreements. It is a misfortune. It would be much nicer if nature determined the question for us. Only nature does not do so; or her method is to leave it for us to do it by strife and by convention.

George, therefore, has truly shown (what every jurist has well known) that the right of property in land is essentially different from the property in one's products. The latter, he rightly says, is "anterior to the state and superior to its enactments," whereas the former is "from the state, and not from nature," [76] — posterior to the state, therefore, and therefore inferior to its enactments.[77] But he goes too far and slips into error when he says, "in the very nature of things, land cannot rightfully be made individual property;[78] for all that he has succeeded in showing is that nature (or God) does not establish a right to individual property in land. Thinking that he has shown that nature (or God) establishes a right to common property in land, it was logical for him to say that private property contravenes that natural right. But as he did not prove that right, and only showed that nature does not provide the right to land, room is left open for the state, or for the people by agreement, to establish the right of private property in land, or not, as they please. "There is in nature no such thing as a fee simple in land," he rightly says; but he is wrong when he immediately adds: "There is on earth no power which can rightly make a grant of exclusive ownership in land." [79]

Still, on the whole, George's error is not so great, or so injurious, as the error of those who deny the difference between property in land and property in one's own products, and who hold that also private property in land is from nature, anterior to the state, and superior to the state. The truth was expressed by Hobbes when, treating of a commonwealth or a kingdom, he wrote: "The property which a subject hath in lands, consisteth in a right to exclude all other subjects from the use of them; and not to exclude their sovereign, be it an assembly, or a monarch." [80] The state may lend power enough to an individual to exclude all other individuals, but it cannot give power enough to an individual to exclude itself. This reserved right of the sovereign, or of the state representing the people, to enter and to use all the land

76 *Condition of Labour*, iii. 52, *cf.* 4, viii. 312.

77 "The permanent right of property," says Blackstone, of personal and real estate, but with the latter in mind principally, with a view to inheritance, "vested in the ancestor himself, was no *natural*, but merely a *civil*, right," *Commentaries*, ii. 11.

78 *Land Question*, iii. 52.

79 i. 337; *cf.* his first work, viii. 87.

80 *Leviathan*, ch. 24.

within its borders, is observed everywhere in the state's right of eminent domain, and in the fact that the state can, and must be recognised as having the right to, change its laws regulative of ownership, possession, and use of land, as it can change any of its other laws regulative of the actions of its citizens. Nothing human can be absolute. God himself in his omnipotence cannot create a power greater than himself, or that power would be God. The state cannot establish a set of landowners more powerful than itself; or, if it does, they become the state.

The conclusion, therefore, must be that communities or nations, themselves formed by compulsion and by convention, own the territory they occupy and possess, by force and by agreement. And owning its land, a nation may do with it what it pleases, provided it injures not another nation. It may legislate any land-tenure it thinks best. It may make mistakes in choosing a bad one: that is human. Its clashing interests may commit injustice upon individuals by individuals, such as George witnessed in California and his first work describes. But the committing of injustice is not proved to be inherent in the system of private property in land either by the fact of its actual commission or by reason that such property is not sanctioned by nature, since nature does not sanction any system of land-ownership whatever. The case is like the question of protection or free trade, which are opposite methods of treating men's behaviour in importing foreign goods, the one leaving them free to do so, the other abridging their freedom for an alleged common benefit. Importing foreign goods is not morally wrong; and those who, like Dove and George, hold that the state has a right to prevent only what is morally wrong, believe that protection is a system of robbery. Yet the advocates of protection can reply that every member of a republic consents even to laws which he voted against, it being the understanding of the republican system of legislation that what the majority decides is to prevail. Therefore no one is robbed when the custom-house exacts a duty from him, since robbery is the taking of one's property without his consent. And so in a country like ours, where the majority have established the system of private property in land, the exaction of rent by a private owner is not robbery, since it is consented to by all, even by those who do not consider this system the best; and when a new-born babe comes of age, he will, in a republic, be in exactly the same position as all other grown-ups; for he will continue to be subject to paying rent to a private party only if his own generation continues to consent to the system of private property in land.[81] The resem-

81 *Cf.* Spencer: "The right of possession [property, he means, in land] only exists by general consent," *Social Statics*, IX. § 7.

blance goes further. For just as the state cannot impose a tariff to last for all time, or in general as it cannot grant a perpetual monopoly of any kind, because, its power to alter always remaining, it always retains the right, and even has the duty always incumbent upon it, to alter what it comes to perceive to be bad, and to replace it with what it believes to be better; so, when the state gives away or nominally sells the right of ownership of land to private individuals, it must do so, and can only do so, under various restrictions and reservations, since it cannot give any complete or absolute ownership for the simple reason that it retains full power, and will not, and has not the right to, stand by and see mischief increasingly done, or danger incurred, in consequence of its prior act, now proved to have been ill-considered. To the extent of its capacity for justice, it will use its might, not to prevent right, but to restore right. There is nothing sacred about property in land, as it is a human institution.[82] Consequently the state may change, as every state frequently has changed, the land-tenure formerly adopted, whenever this is found to lead to evil, or not to be so good as another.[83] The state that is wisest will adopt the best system of land-tenure; but no state would show wisdom if it changed its land-system without good proof of the superiority of the new one, as it would not show wisdom if it did not when the superiority of a new one is well demonstrated.

Is, then, the system of private property in land a bad one, necessarily leading to evils that are curable by making land common property? This question introduces an entirely different method of treating the matter from that which has so far been considered. That tried to prove *a priori* that private property in land is wrong in principle; this would try to prove *a posteriori* that it is bad in results. To this latter method Dove gave little attention, George much. We cannot here follow him in detail. Roughly, he argues that wages, by which he meant every and all earnings of labour, must rise or fall inversely as rent;[84] and as rent rises with the progress of civilisation, wages must fall and at last reach the starvation point, beyond which they cannot further fall.[85] But we

82 *Cf.* Mill: "When the 'sacredness of property' is talked of, it should always be remembered, that any such sacredness does not belong in the same degree to landed property. No man made the land. . . . Its appropriation is wholly a question of general expediency," *Political Economy*, II. ii. § 6.

83 *Cf.* Huxley: "At present the state protects men in the possession and enjoyment of their property, and defines what that property is. The justification for its so doing is that its action promotes the good of the people. If it can be clearly proved that the abolition of property would tend still more to promote the good of the people, the state will have the same justification for abolishing property that it now has for maintaining it," *Methods and Results*, 283.

84 i. 171–2, 202, 220, *cf.* viii. 79, ii. 137.

85 i. pp. ix, 17, 213, 281, 302–4, 346; ii. 103, 145–6, 201; iv. 274. *Cf.* Dove, *Human*

find that this applies only to the wages of simple, or agricultural labour, as in Marx's case it was simple or manufacturing labour that was principally considered; and, like Marx, George has no theory of wages to account for the higher wages of others. We find also that it is not the system of private property in land merely, but the system of privately monopolised land, that is responsible for the evils he complains of. Where there still is unoccupied and free land, as there was in America in his day, there — and not only there, but all over the world whence labour has access to that land — the evils are alleviated, and wages may rise, absolutely speaking, though not relatively, that is, not equally with the rise of the incomes of landowners,[86] the landowners (and not the capitalists, as Marx maintained) getting most of the benefits of progress.[87] A system of entirely open land, he thinks, therefore, will completely remedy the evils that spring from land-monopolisation; and this can be obtained by taxing all land up, or nearly up, to its rental, barring buildings and improvements, because this will make it unprofitable for any one to hold land unused. Then, too, all taxes upon industry may be abolished; and after paying the necessary expenses of administration, the larger revenue of the state derivable from land may be spent on public improvements for the benefit of all equally.[88] Here comes in a socialistic element in George's propaganda, which, added to the socialistic foundation of the doctrine proclaiming all land to be common property, has done more harm than good to the cause of the "single tax." His promises were too high: to "raise wages, increase the earnings of capital, extirpate pauperism, abolish poverty, give remunerative employment to whoever wishes it, afford free scope to human powers, lessen crime, elevate morals and taste and intelligence, purify government, and carry civilisation to yet nobler heights," [89]— and not temporarily, but permanently, with indefinite advance, no matter how population may increase; for he thought he proved Malthusianism, as also the "iron law of wages," to be applicable at most to the present régime. People have hesitated to believe in all these good things, and have ended

Progression, 284–8, *Political Science*, 326. The title of George's great work seems to mean the progress of wealth on the one side and of poverty on the other. Huet, resting on Turgot's expression of the "iron law" (see above, p. 105), had directly inferred that profit (the income in general of wealth) rises with the progress of civilisation, while the misery of the labourers remains fixed at the bottom, *op. cit.*, 291. This position is not so strong even as George's.

86 i. 216, 231, 232, 241, 248, *cf.* 86.

87 i. 348, 350, 548, ii. 197, viii. 317–18; *cf.* Dove, *Human Progression*, 310, 325, 327.

88 George would take for the state's use the entire ground rent of all privately owned land, *minus* commission to the owners for collection, i. 405, 411, 419, 435, 438, ii. 219, iv. 283, 289, viii. 227, 230, even if the state could not employ all of it and had to distribute the surplus equally *per capita*, viii. 233.

89 i. 403–4.

by believing in none of them. Yet George was right when he said: "The tax upon land values or rent is in all economic respects the most perfect of taxes."[90] This is entirely apart from the question whether the land naturally or divinely belongs to the community or not. Land values are produced by the community, and the rent from them forms the properest fund for the state to draw upon.[91] Then, as Dove said, land, and not man, is taxed,[92]— man at last is free, even in the state of society.[93] And if some few of the other advantages promised by George might, to some extent, for some time, flow from it,— that would not detract from its excellence.

Thus there is much in George's work that is good, along with much that is extravagant. The extravagant is mostly socialistic. What is good, is sound economics and noble, if not provable, jurisprudence. In this respect George differs from Marx, whose doctrines are, from the foundation to the roof, false, flagitious, rotten, and ruinous. Marx's doctrines are entirely socialistic, aiming at equality in everything, and caring little or nothing about liberty. George followed Herbert Spencer in desiring for every individual the fullest freedom of action, limited only by equal freedom in others.[94] Here in his work is the good element, which is not socialistic. He wished also to preserve private capital, and feared not its accumulation, provided justice rules.[95] Competition he likewise believed in, and wished to make it fair.[96] The socialistic element in his work may be cut out, root and branch, and the truth of the remainder will be clearer, and its value sufficient.

90 *Land Question,* iii. 68, *cf.* iv. 288.

91 So George himself, without appearing to perceive that it constitutes a new line of argument: viii. 106, 108, i. 418–19, 459, ii. 215 (217, *cf. Condition of Labour,* iii. 15–17, viii. 238, 253–4, 292–3), *Condition of Labour,* iii. 12, 13, 61, iv. 288, v. 214, viii. 217, 230, 257, 291–2, 304, 313, 314.

92 *Human Progression,* 44, 313, *cf. Political Science,* 315–16, 318, 329.

93 *Cf. P. and P.,* i. 440.

94 viii. 173.

95 i. 451, ii. 57, 87, *Condition of Labour,* iii. 61, v. 70–1.

96 *Condition of Labour,* iii. 61. Says one of his disciples, L. F. Post: "I believe that the Single Tax would perfect competition. If it did, and at any rate to the extent that it did, every one would get what he earned," *The Taxation of Land Values,* 70. Cf. George himself, i. 317, 419, ii. 211.

CHAPTER VIII.

MODERN PRACTICE — THE EVILS AND THE ALLEVIATION

A GREAT evil in modern as in all advanced societies is the existence, not of inequality, but of excessive inequality of men and their conditions,— and the only criterion of excessive inequality is that it leads to evil results, or worse results than need be; which is what we mean by political injustice.[1] For ordinary inequality man is not responsible. It is due to nature. The mistake of the socialists is that they wish, not so much to correct man's aberrations from nature, as to correct nature itself. "If nature," says Bebel, "treats any one in so step-motherly a fashion that with the best of will he is unable to perform what others perform, society cannot punish[2] him for the faults of nature. Reversely, if any one receives from nature faculties that raise him above others, society is not bound to reward what is not his personal desert."[3] Society has not the function of rewarding or punishing except for services or for disservices rendered to society itself; but society has no business to interfere with the award of nature in distributing more to superior and less to inferior capacity. Rather it is society's business to see that this award itself be not interfered with. Society ought to be just, and justice requires that to each should be given his due, which can be measured only according to one's work, which varies with one's ability.[4] We know not why one person is more favoured by nature than another, save that it would be an entirely different and much less interesting world if it were not so. There is no use complaining of Nature; she will only pass on and smile or frown according to meteorological conditions. And we had better not complain of God; for God's ways are not our ways.

1 Or the denial of rights: *cf.* Pearson, *Ethic of Freethought*, 346, 355, 416, *Chances of Death*, i. 232.

2 Hillquit uses the same perverted idea: "Is there any moral ground for *punishing* the cripple, the invalid, the decrepit, the imbecile, the unfortunate step-children of nature, by *reducing* their rations of food or clothing?" *Socialism in Theory and Practice*, 116–17.

3 *Die Frau*, 289.

4 Even Mill slipped here, making the strange statement that "when it [work] depends on natural difference of strength or capacity, this principle of remuneration [proportioned to work done] is in itself an injustice: it is giving to those who have; assigning most to those who are already most favoured by nature," *Political Economy*, II. i. § 4,— in fact, following *Mat.* XIII. 11, XXV. 29, *Mark* IV. 25, *Luke* VIII. 18, XIX. 26. A sensible discussion on this subject may be found in Xenophon's *Cyropaedia*, II. ii. 18–28.

The only equality society ought to guard is the equality of rights and, as far as feasible, the equality of opportunities. This last is desirable for the very purpose that it may lead to inequality of conditions proportioned to deserts. For, as was insisted upon by Mr. Kidd, to secure to all men equality of opportunities is to bring all men into the arena of competition and to raise to its highest efficiency as a factor of progress the struggle for existence.[5] Bellamy sneered at this as giving to all "an equal chance to make themselves unequal";[6] but he merely forgot their original inequality, to which their subsequent inequality should be proportioned. In actual practice the subsequent inequality is by no means always proportioned to the original or natural. So far as this is due to succession, an incapable offspring being lodged on the advanced position won by his capable father, we ought not to object, provided this advantage be not misused.[7] It is the winning of advantages not deserved, with injustice to others, and the misuse of advantages won, with continued practice of injustice toward others, to which we ought to object. The socialists are right in doing so, but wrong in going into the other extreme of objecting to the winning or receiving of any eminent advantages at all. Even the moderates among them, when they try to avoid this error, cannot do so, because of their being tied down to the fundamental demand for equality. "Socialism demands," says Mr. Walling, "that every individual born into the world be given equal opportunity and a function in society corresponding to his native abilities."[8] A function in society corresponding to native abilities means that more will be exacted of the capable man according to his abilities; but nothing is said about any greater returns to him according to his services.[9] Mr. Spargo is still plainer; for though he denies that the equality of opportunity demanded by socialism would aim at "absolute equality or uniformity of income," yet he, too, must look upon it as leading to "approximate equality," and he would abolish inheritance of property other than "personal objects," in order to prevent "the exploitation of the spendthrift by the abstinent"![10] Most socialists, indeed, leave over an

5 *Social Evolution*, 152, 154, 177, 199, 242–3, 255, etc.

6 *Equality*, 5.

7 To give to one more than his due is unjust if it involves taking from others so that they receive less than their due, as may happen in the division of a common product among its producers. But when more is given to one than is his due (in the sense of his not having earned it) without taking from others what is their due, as when the share of a producer is by him given or left to another, there is no injustice.

8 *Larger Aspects of Socialism*, 138.

9 So Bellamy, though he alleges that socialism promises the world "the first and only genuine competitive system," yet says "the winners in the competition" would be "those who have done most to increase the general welfare," *Equality*, 396, 398,—but what they have won, except a little notoriety, he cannot tell us.

10 *Socialism*, 287, 312–13, 316.

equality of opportunity for dilettantism; but "the economic motive," which one of them, Mr. Ghent, acknowledges to be "for the mass of men the strongest of all motives,"[11] would be sadly missing.

The evils which socialists point out in modern society may be mostly conceded, and yet their diagnosis of the cause need not be accepted as the true one, nor their remedy be adopted as the proper one. Much less need their remedy be regarded as the only possible one. We are not confronted with the alternative presented by Kirkup, of either "a new industrial feudalism," which will control the people, or the control of industry by the people for the people in the socialist scheme;[12] the first horn of which has since been sarcastically described for us by Mr. Ghent in his work under the ironical title of *Our Benevolent Feudalism*,[13] but which Bellamy more directly characterised as "corporate tyranny";[14] while the other horn, if successfully developed, would for a time be nothing else than trade-union tyranny or labour-leaders' despotism, and would before long very likely give way to the kind of state-socialism described by Mr. Belloc in his *Servile State*.[15] For the socialists' remedy sacrifices liberty to equality. These two things are, indeed, incompatible. If we are to have equality, it must be forced, and we cannot have liberty. If we have liberty, it is sure to be attended by inequality.[16] But so far is inequality from being undesirable, that it, too, with liberty, should be welcome. Undesirable is undue inequality — inequality of fortune greater than the inequality of capacity nature has placed in men, and greater than the fortune that can be accumulated by honest thrift. Liberty of itself does not lead to such inequality: it is brought about by the misuse of their superiority by the superior ones, and is fostered by the laws they make or

11 *Mass and Class*, 247.

12 *Inquiry into Socialism*, 168–9; he was writing, in 1887, especially of American conditions. Similarly Vail in 1899: "The question is, whether the public shall own the monopolies, or the monopolies shall own the public," *Modern Socialism*, 24.

13 New York, 1902. In a note on p. 58 he refers to an address on *The New Feudalism* by B. A. Richmond in 1898. In 1840 Heine prophesied that the new railroad directors would soon also direct the state, *Lutetia*, No. LI. (*Werke*, Hamburg, 1862, ix. 124); and the year before, C. Pecqueur had written: "All the large industries will be exclusively monopolised by an industrial feudalism," *Des Interets du Commerce, de l'Industrie et de l'Agriculture, et de la Civilisation en general, sous l'Influence des Applications de la Vapeur*, ii. 101. Still earlier Fourier prophesied a "commercial feudialism"; and later, in 1878, Garfield admitted its advent, *Works*, ii. 66. Also C. Frantz: "A capitalistic feudalism has, in fact, grown up," *Der Untergang der alten Parteien und die Partei der Zukunft*, Berlin, 1878, p. 105.

14 *Looking Backward*, 52.

15 In which those who do not own the means of production shall be legally compelled to work for those who do, and shall receive in exchange security of livelihood.

16 So at the founding of our government Hamilton declared: "An inequality [of property] would exist as long as liberty existed, and it would unavoidably result from that very liberty itself," Elliot's *Debates*, v. 244.

prevail upon the rest to concede [17]— by privileges or private laws, or what amounts to private laws, devised directly or indirectly for their advantage.[18]

Here is the true diagnosis of the cause of the evils of the present, as of all previous advanced, civilisations. It is not the capitalistic system, or private ownership of capital, that is at fault, requiring total subversion; but it is the perversion of that system that is at fault, requiring correction.[19] Nor does the fault lie in a part of that system only, the private ownership of land, inherently; although a careless institution of this land system, without safeguards against monopoly, and with permission, at the instigation of the landlords, of a perverse system of taxation, is one of the sought-for causes of the evils of advanced and declining civilisation. In other words, it is not the injustice *of* our capitalistic system, or *of* our land system, but the injustice *in* our capitalist system, and *in* our land system, or the injustice practised *under* them, that is the disintegrating factor, cause of decay. Dove and George said that progress goes toward liberty and equality of rights, tending to produce equality of condition.[20] The truth is, progress should be toward liberty and toward equality of rights, indeed, properly understood, but especially toward justice, which gives to every one his due; and when liberty and justice are obtained, equality or inequality of condition, as George himself said,[21] may take care of itself. Injustice, to repeat, is the disintegrating factor. If what it disintegrates is only a limb of the body politic, which can be excised, the rest may recover and thrive till another limb become rotten, when the process may be renewed. But when

17 *Cf.* Euripides: —

πόλει γὰρ εὐτυχοῦντες οἱ κακοὶ νοσος,
in Stobaeus, *Florilegium*, XLVIII. 1, *cf.* XLV. 3.

Young: —

"Those governments, which curb not evils, cause;
And a rich knave's a libel on our laws,"
Love of Fame, I. 159–60.

Condorcet: "Toute grande fortune un peu durable est toujours l'ouvrage d'une mauvaise loi," *Lettres d'un Bourgeois de New-Heaven* (*Œuvres*, Paris, 1804, xii. 132, *cf.* 232–3).

18 The occasional assertion that the evil we suffer from is "the unequal distribution of wealth" is a flaw in the late Mr. Henry George, Jr.'s meritorious work on *The Menace of Privilege*, pp. 13, 359, 361. The very title shows that such assertions are mere slips of the pen. "Privilege," he says, is "what causes poverty," 121. This, too, is an overstatement. Privilege may cause undeserved poverty; but poverty has other causes besides — and some of them in the poor themselves.

19 Here, as regards the *modus operandi*, we have the fundamental difference between socialists and other social reformers. Thus a New York socialist paper, The Call, of March 14, 1915, in a section edited by Anita C. Block, commenting on the suicide of a poor woman who could not support herself, said: "It is too late now for us to help our broken comrade. But what we can and must do is to take up with redoubled determination our work to *destroy* an economic system that drives men and women to self-destruction." Other social reformers would strive rather to *improve* the present economic system. Those who would destroy it, run the risk of replacing it with all sorts of new evils not by them foreseen.

20 Dove, *Human Progression*, 132–4; 292, 323; 282–4, 303–5. George, i. 328, iii. (*Land Question*) 82, *cf.* (*Condition of Labour*) 17, ii. 217, viii. 238, 255, 293.

21 *Cf.* above, p. 129, n. 95.

the whole body politic has been made uniform, or at most biform, and the whole becomes putrid with injustice, then decay goes on till death. So has it been in the past: successive upper classes have decayed and been removed by rebellion of other classes, the operations constituting revolutions; but at last, when there were left no more than the two classes of rich and of poor, the former decaying, and the latter being powerless through ignorance, the two have gone festering to their end. So will it always be, unless some fundamental change be made. And we,— we who have already reached the nearly homogeneous state of democracy, and are passing beyond into plutocracy, which tramples on poverty, with injustice again rearing its head,— we shall follow the same course, unless we get rid of the cause. That our civilisation has not already begun to decline, is only because it has not yet, in the natural course of events, quite reached its climax. This is so imminent that it is high time for us to look about for the preventive of decay,— or at least for something that may retard it. Evidently it must be something new. Otherwise we shall go the same round.

New, of course, would be the sense of justice, or morality — altruism, public spirit — become universal and supreme. But government can work only on its own lines — by law, negatively. Now, on this line, new will be the abolition of privilege, or of private laws, or of what amounts to private laws, favouring individuals or small classes at the expense of the rest of the community. There can be no law favouring the whole community. The whole community must look out for itself. The only possible establishment of justice by law is the disestablishment of injustice by law.

The march of civilisation has always tended toward the establishment of new privileges after old ones have been abrogated. In the early period of its cycle the privileges striven after are those of power — of faith, or of force. In the culminating period they are privileges of wealth, which take various forms of monopoly, by the use of fraud. It is these that confront us. We should not only try to abolish them, but to keep them abolished, and to keep others from cropping up in their place. If we succeeded, we should not do away with poverty; for monopoly is not the only cause of poverty. But in preventing dishonest wealth we might get rid of undeserved poverty. Nor would we make our civilisation eternal; for it contains other seeds of decay. But we might considerably prolong it.

The privileges of wealth taking several forms, we should — to mention only the principal — seek (1) to abolish monopoly of the

land, by imposing the single tax on ground rents; (2) to abolish monopoly of the market, by introducing free trade, at least with countries that reciprocate; (3) to abolish monopoly gained by combination, by curtailing corporations and rescinding trusts; (4) and where monopolies are natural (as in railways, telegraphs, telephones; municipal supplies — trolleys, water, lighting; the country's supply of currency; and insurance), to abolish exclusive private ownership, by the state or municipality assuming either complete ownership or partnership in control; and (5) lastly, for the purpose of securing the people in their rights, to make justice gratuitous also in civil cases.

(1) The present system of private ownership of land is not an evil in itself, yet if it leads to monopoly of land it will be an evil. Monopoly of land is hard to define, being vague in its boundaries; but it will exist when all, or almost all, the good land of a country is owned by a small number of its population and most of its users are mere tenants. Then the bargaining between landowner and tenant will be unfair; for the principle of fair competition is that there must be many offerers as well as many seekers; but if the number is reduced on either side, these may combine either openly or tacitly and act as one, so that the competition between the many on the other side will all tend in the one direction, without counteraction by competition on the side of the few.[22] Again, the owner of a large tract, having already enough revenue from a portion of it, will not let the rest except at a high rate, and when he obtains this, he will not re-let to the first tenants except at the same rate, so that, when the whole land is so owned, not the whole, but only a part of the land is the land offered; while the would-be tenants have no such resource.[23] Lastly, there will be, as everywhere hitherto where liberty has existed, and security of property, absenteeism, or the abandonment of the tenants to the tender mercies of stewards, and the spending of the revenues elsewhere. Such a system exists in Great Britain; but its evil has in recent times been disguised by the existence of open land in other parts of the world and even within the British empire. When all the land of the accessible world is monopolised, then first for our world-embracing civilisation will the full evils of land-monopoly show themselves.

22 People sometimes think of competition as the higgling of a purchaser with a seller for an article. This is a mistake. Competition is between several sellers offering the same kind of article, and between several buyers desiring the same. Fair competition is double competition — competition on both sides. But it is possible to cut off competition on one side, and then, the competition being left on the other side only, the whole condition is lop-sided and unfair.

23 *Cf.* Dove, *Political Science*, 296n., 324. George constantly insists on the holding back of land for speculative purposes, so common in our country. Also Marx treats it as a "barrier" or "obstacle" to production, *Capital*, iii. 878, 884, 945, *cf.* 875, 879.

Even in England this system is young. Dove and George correctly narrate its history. They describe how upon the last conquest the Norman kings, as representatives of the nation, granted lands in return for the obligation of military service, which practically was a rent paid to the nation, or a tax, and there was no other national tax, the royal administration being supported by the so-called crown lands, the church by its own lands, and the people in the parishes also having their common lands. That was a land-system primitive but well-rounded. Then changes took place. The large grants of baronial land were originally for life only, but they gradually came to be hereditary. The military service gradually fell into desuetude, as it became possible to establish a standing army payable in money, when money became more plentiful, and that which was paid to soldiers could be collected from taxes imposed upon the new industries that were springing up. Taxes were likewise granted by the barons and the burghers to the king, who, in return, granted away the crown lands. The church lands were confiscated, and likewise sold or given away at nominal rents. These later grants, made in great abundance by Henry VIII., were without the obligation of military service; until at last, under Charles II., parliament, in the hands of landowners, abolished military tenure altogether, assimilated real to personal property as subject to sale and testamentary disposition, and thereafter adopted the policy of taxing labour, especially by means of indirect taxes upon articles of consumption (beginning with an excise on beer) and even the common lands of the parishes throughout the country were by authority of the landlords' parliament sold away and bought up by the old and by new landlords, if not actually inclosed without right — by downright stealing;[24] whereupon the idea has, by the landowners, been made to prevail, that property in land is like property in other things, to be used or not used by the owner as he pleases, and subject to taxation only as other things are. Much like this is the history of the land-tenure in the rest of Europe, and very probably like it was the history of land-tenure in antiquity;[25] for we know only the latter two-thirds of it, and these closely resembled the latter half of the modern, except that the land originally held by the fighting men in antiquity was in smaller allotments.[26]

24 Dove, *Human Progression, 314ff., Political Science,* 171n., 242–3, 284, *cf.* 311–12. George, viii. 103, i. 373–82, ii. 161–2, 204, iii. (*Land Question*) 67–8, (*Condition of Labour*) 41–2, v. 179–80, viii. 198–9.

25 For instance, it is evident that when the Romans gave lands on the Anio to the Claudii (Livy, II. 16, Suetonius, *Tiberius,* c. 1), they expected in return the acquisition of the Claudian fighting force to their armies. By the time of the emperors there was no connection between landownership and military service.

26 The dawn of Greek and Roman history, when tradition began to be preserved in writing, discloses the people already possessed of a fully and apparently long-established

Land-tenure in America began only when the last stage of its development was being reached in Europe; and, after a little hesitation at first, the modern European system was taken over bodily.

Here, too, this system has been carried to its limit, land in our country being fully assimilated to commodities, being salable and purchasable almost as easily as a bale of cotton and quite as easily as a steam-boat; which, after all, is best, if land is to be privately owned. Our federal government became the owner of the territory west of the original States, and it immediately sold it off as rapidly as it could. It took, after a time, some precautions against selling directly to any but settlers in small lots, but none against their selling out to capitalists, who could buy-in any tracts of land they pleased; and at last the government even presented millions of acres to railroad companies.[27] So it is that in our land system (for the States have acted in the same way) there is nothing actually favouring, yet nothing guarding against the concentration of landownership, which is constantly going on at an accelerating pace, and may, within a century or two, end in a condition of monopoly. The state, representing the people, has renounced all control over landownership, makes no regulation of tenancy, no provision against absenteeism, none against a landlordism prescriptive of conditions that interfere with personal freedom, none against rack-renting, seizure of improvements, harsh and even murderous evictions. In short, it leaves for the future to correct evils full grown, which all past experience shows will grow, instead of preventing their growth in advance. It even permits companies and corporations to act like individuals in deriving income from land as land, wholly without need and rime or reason. Still further, it allows foreigners to buy up our land, contrary to all national policy.[28] The true policy, instinctively observed almost everywhere in the world, at least till recently,[29] is so sound that every one of our States ought to adopt it and exclude any but its own citizens from owning the land within its borders. If any clause in the federal constitution

land system (which is well described by Fustel de Coulanges in his *Cité antique*), it being very much as if the history of European land-tenure could begin in France only in the eleventh century or in England only in the thirteenth.

27 How different was the conduct of the more primitive Serbians, who, when they obtained their independence, distributed among themselves, in small holdings, the arable land, but reserved in the hands of the state all forest and meadow lands, to be leased at market rates to all who would make proper use of them.

28 Our States did this for the purpose of attracting immigrants. The time has passed since immigration needs to be artificially promoted; and also this procedure attracts ownership without attracting the owners, who stay abroad as absentee landlords.

29 Most European countries have also in the course of the nineteenth century abolished their old *droit d'aubaine* applied to land. It will be interesting to see whether some of them will not revive it after this war.

stands in the way, it is contrary to the idea of our federal system, which is that each State should have full control of its own affairs, and it ought to be repealed. At all events, none but a citizen of the United States should be permitted to own land within the United States; and a constitutional amendment is needed, if Congress has not authority over this.

Such a system of citizen-ownership would go some distance in preventing monopolization. But it would not be enough. It would not prevent the ownership of land for the purpose, not of using it, but of deriving benefit from the use of it by others. What is worse, it would not prevent the owner or user from taking to himself the benefit that comes, not from his own labour upon his own land, but from the industry of others congregated on the surrounding land. Such benefits consist in the surplus-value of the use of certain land, which surplus-value is produced neither by the owner nor by a single user, for it is due not only to the superior fertility of the land compared with other land, but to its situation in a productive neighbourhood, or its proximity to a market and the facilities of conveyance to and from that market; and in towns and cities this last is the only source of land value, being a site-value, due also to all sorts of other advantages, such as companionship, art, learning, facilities for commerce, use of well-paved streets, of parks, of schools, of libraries, of hospitals, of water, of sewerage, of the post, of quick conveyance, etc., etc., most of which are themselves produced from taxation. In short, the surplus-value of any one man's land is due to other men, to the community; and as this is true of every one's land, it is proper that the community should treat the value of land as the fund it needs for its public purposes.[30] It may leave this value, or rent, with the land, to the landowner. But it would be wise if it took it, without the land, for itself, or as much of it as it needs. The strongest claim the state has upon property is upon the increment unearned by the individual, but earned by society,— and all rent is such an increment. If it draws upon this, it need not impose other taxes upon its members, need not take from them any portion of their products that would not be taken from them anyhow by the landowners. Clearly it is better to take from an owner what he has not produced but has exacted from the producers (whom he has not aided, as by loaning them capital), than to take from an owner what he has produced, in addition to the landowners' exactions. Such a tax, to repeat, is upon the land, and not upon persons,[31]

30 *Cf.* above, p. 129, n. 91.

31 When a person buys land, he discounts the taxes imposed or likely to be im-

and no one has merit, or a return claim upon the state, for handing it over, beyond a commission for his trouble. Hence a land-tax is much better than any other tax; and as the land-tax will provide sufficient resources to any state, except possibly in time of war, it is the only one a state should ordinarily indulge in for the purpose of revenue.[32]

This single land-tax is not the only means of preventing land-monopoly, since that might be hindered by other regulations. But these have never succeeded in the past, and there is little probability of their success in the future. The single land-tax is the last resource with any prospect of being effectual. It has, too, the merit of being one of the few new things that have, in our civilisation, been discovered in political economy,— so much so, that it (the *impôt unique*) was hailed by Mirabeau as one of the greatest of inventions. It is not absolutely new, like everything else; for it takes us back somewhat to the land-system that prevailed in the ascending period of all civilisations, when the landowners alone paid service to the state, except for the stealing which the landowners, the barons, themselves took from the burghers and merchants in ransoms and tolls (whence our tariffs[33]). But it improves upon that land-system, making use of all the improvements introduced by high civilisation — money, rent, taxes, private landownership, public utility from public revenue.[34] And it puts an end to the land and the tax systems which have in past civilisations existed only in the latter periods of the civilisation cycle and to which the decline of those civilisations is in part directly traceable, as most plainly in the Roman. It thus offers hope, though not certainty, that if it may not prevent (since there are other causes), it may retard the decay and decline of our civilisation; for at least its introduction at the top of a civilisation is an entirely new thing under the sun.[35] And

posed, and so actually pays no taxes (see Fillebrown in the works to be cited). If taxes are subsequently raised only as the land rises in value, he still pays no tax, but only does not get the full amount of the increased value, which, being due to the state or society, is taken by the state for society.

32 Here Th. G. Shearman, the re-introducer of the term "single tax," after the *impôt unique* of the physiocrats (see *Life of Henry George*, 496n.), is a better guide than George himself or than Dr. McGlynn, the organiser of the Anti-Poverty Society. See the former's *Natural Taxation*. He shows that not more than half of the ground rents would be needed for taxes, ch. x. §12. *Cf.* also *The A-B-C of Taxation, A Single Tax Handbook, and A Single Tax Catechism* by C. B. Fillebrown, President of the Massachusetts Single Tax League. This society wishes the adoption of the new system to be spread over thirty years. As it is rent rather than a tax (see George, iv. 283, 288, viii. 232), Ch. T. Root, following W. Saunders (quoted by George, iv. 312, viii. 217), would prefer the slogan "Not a single tax": see his pamphlet with this title.

33 The term itself is derived from Tarifa, a nest of pirates on the Strait of Gibraltar.

34 And the soundness of private landownership is proved thereby, as otherwise there could not be such a tax.

35 Very possibly it may be the system at the beginning of the next cycle of civilisa-

there is not one possible objection to it, save the trouble of introducing it, which, of course, is magnified by the opposition of the present beneficiaries, and those who believe themselves to be such, of the system it would replace.

(2) On the subject of free trade as a corrective of industrial monopoly, little may here be said. The so-called protective system (as if it protected the whole country, though it does protect a small part of the people at the expense of the rest) was invented by the landowners, and carried to its acme by the industrialists, till the latter discovered, in England, that in their situation it did not pay. But even in England free trade has not been fully introduced, as the landowners were powerful enough to prevent putting back upon the land the support of the state. In our country the landowners derive no advantage from the tariff, beyond that of shifting taxes from land to the producers. And the producers as a body only suffer from it, though a few of them, the largest capitalists, receive benefit from the privilege of an artificial advantage in our market in certain lines of production. This advantage they have utilised to its full extent by the formation of monopolies. All this, of course, they deny, though we have the testimony of one of them in a huff, that the tariff is the mother of the trusts. The subject is too vast here to be entered upon. But three remarks may be made.

The first is that the only possible substitute for the revenue derived from the tariff is the land-tax. Until this is adopted, the adoption of real free trade is hopeless.[36] A tariff for revenue and protection, however, may be replaced by a tariff for revenue only. This means the levying of duties upon widely consumed articles incompletely produced in our country, such as sugar, like an excise on spirits, and especially upon widely consumed articles not produced here, such as coffee and tea. Against this, our labouring classes protest — foolishly, as the amount falling on them individually is too trifling to cavil at; yet our politicians have to heed their protest. Therefore we have recently passed a constitutional amendment permitting, as a substitute, the taxing of incomes — the most absurd and injurious tax ever invented, with the sole exception of the tax on legacies, likewise recently adopted by many of our States. About these two taxes, also, there is no room here to descant. Attention may merely be again called to the fact that they are taxes which civilisations have hitherto introduced only at the moment of their turn toward decline and have continued during their decline, which has been helped thereby.

tion; for it does not look as if our civilisation had vigour enough left in it to make so radical an innovation.

[36] See George's *Protection or Free Trade.*

They are the cry of despair of men who know not what to do when they shut their eyes to the one right thing to do.

The second remark is, that there is no more prolific cause of corruption in politics at home, and abroad of ill-will and hostility eventuating in war, than the protective system. At home, it embodies the principle that everybody should look to the government for protection, or rather for help, and therefore should go to the governors for it,— and should go to them with money in their hands, or some equivalent, to pay for it with. The legislators have their attention turned from the good of the whole to the good of individuals, and naturally demand some return. In foreign relations, the protective system is commercial war, from which it is only a step to military war. It is national selfishness avowed and systematised, while free trade admits the truthful avowal of friendship for all nations; which, after all, is not only the best morality, but the best policy. The old " mercantile system " directly led to war for the sake of monopoly of trade. Protection, which is the atrophied remnant of that system, is less bold, but war is among its indirect effects.[37] Our pacifists ought first of all to be free-traders.

The last remark is, that one great opposition to free trade, even in the form of permitting a tariff for revenue, springs from the prevalence of the protective system in most other countries. This is stupid, as the protective system, as a false system of taxation, hurts principally the country that adopts it, and there is no reason why we should hurt ourselves because others hurt themselves. Yet the prejudice exists. Now, we Americans seem to hold in our hands the power of compelling almost all other countries at least to reduce considerably their protectionism. The prejudice just alluded to has no application against Great Britain, which already has a goodly amount of " free trade." Let us, then, offer a treaty to the British Empire (including, if possible, all its colonies), promising to adopt free trade with it if it will agree with us to put on duties upon all goods from every other country equal to the duties upon them in the countries whence they come. Great Britain has been so near adopting " fair trade " that this offer would probably find acceptance. And the existence of so large a free-trade area would be such a menace to every other country that in all probability one after another they would seek to enter it by reducing their duties, till at last those who stayed out would be a negligible quantity.[38]

37 *Cf.* Dove, *Political Science*, 302n., 318, 323; George, iv. 329.

38 This was written before the outbreak of the present war. Perhaps the opportunity is now past. But it may return.— It may be added that what is here said in favour of free trade does not militate against better regulation of protection as long

(3) The subject of corporations will call for more extended remarks. All civilisations have perished to the accompaniment of corporations. Greece, in its decline, and the Roman empire were honeycombed with them. Every minor round in the large cycles has been marked toward its end by the rank growth of corporations, and every revolution has abolished them. The old military corporations of Knights Templars and the like, become rich, idle, and corrupt, were seized by the state. The Reformation in the Protestant countries got rid of the monasterial corporations; and in the Latin countries the French revolution swept away the rest. Since then, industrial corporations have sprung up and multiplied and fused and augmented enormously, till they threaten to rule the state, as the corporation of Saint George once ruled Genoa.

Our country is their chosen seat. Here, as elsewhere, they could at first be formed only by special enactment of the legislature; but as the favoritism thereby involved was contrary to our democratic spirit, general laws were passed authorising incorporation to be by executive officials made of any companies that complied with specific conditions; and by the rivalry of our States, every one vying with the others to attract or to keep these aggregates of capital, the conditions were extended till in some States wholesale grants are given away, in so-called "omnibus clauses," permitting the corporations practically to do anything; and by our constitutional system corporations, when once formed, are protected by the courts from further legislative interference, on the mistaken principle, established in the Dartmouth College case, that their charters are contracts; and lastly, contrary to the true spirit of our federal system, but deduced from a lax clause in our federal constitution, something is here done that is done nowhere else in the world: corporations are instituted in one State

as we continue to hold the protective system. Thus protection should especially be directed to foster infant industries, and particularly those which are important for the country's welfare and from the loss of which it will suffer if suddenly cut off from them by war. For example, we in the United States need, what we have not had, protection of the dye industry,— not that this is of much importance in itself, as providing bright colours for our women's gowns, but because it is intimately connected with the chemical industry, supplying raw materials for other manufactures, medicines, and elements needed for explosive ammunition,— an industry, therefore, which is highly necessary for the national defence. Moreover, if we are to encourage fair competition between the industries of our own country, we must defend them against unfair competition at the hands of trusts or kartels abroad, which lower their prices here on their products the moment a factory enters into competition with them, for the purpose of crushing it out of existence, whereupon their prices are again raised. The object of free trade is to open up wide competition; wherefore, if any industry is controlled by a foreign trust, nothing is gained by free trade in that industry; and the only way that trust can be reached by us is in our tariff regulations. To-day especially, we need preparation against the dumping which in several lines of industry is sure to take place at the termination of the war in Europe, such as took place on an analogous occasion in 1815, and which brought about the belated tariff of 1816. We ought to show wisdom in advance, especially as we have warning from the lack of it on that occasion.

that do their business entirely in other States, with the effect that companies, no matter where they are to operate, choose for incorporation that State which will give them the greatest powers on the easiest terms. Some corporations, indeed, must operate over and possess land in several States, such as railways especially, and it is inconvenient for them to be incorporated in more than one. Here our federal government is the proper organ for establishing such corporations; but unfortunately our first constitution-makers did not foresee this need and did not grant this power to the federal government, and though the federal government seized this power ungranted in the case of banks, it has not ventured to do so in the case of other corporations outside its Territories, now extinct, nor have the States been willing to give up to it their usurped power, except only in the case of banks; for the banks of each State are confined within its own borders. The result, outside of banking, is a weltering mass and an inextricable mess.

The danger of excessive corporationism is not difficult to explain. A corporation is an ideal entity created by law and superimposed upon a company of men. This legal entity owns all the property, possesses all the power, and performs all the acts of the company. Its officers are not the agents of the men who compose the company; they are agents of this invisible and intangible entity, in whose name they act. To this entity the ancients ascribed a body, and the mediæval mind attached a personality, but all are agreed that it has no soul. "Though immaterial," some one has said, "it certainly is not spiritual."[39] Or if it has a soul or spirit, this is not in the body: its principle is absenteeism, as the owners may be anywhere and everywhere, and even the directors need not be present: everything is done through agents, or stewards, whose sole merit consists in furthering the interests of their employer. Its essence is irresponsibility; for it cannot die and be punished in another world, and in this, though it may commit criminal acts, it cannot be seized and imprisoned. It might, indeed, be dissolved into the nothingness whence it came, by forfeiture of charter; but the power of the state to take this drastic action seems now to be in abeyance, and all that the state does do is to impose fines, which are paid out of profits. Yet in our country there is a tendency to assign to these fictitious persons all the personal rights our constitutions secure to real persons. Thus they are protected like real persons, while their acts are wholly impersonal; and, no real person being responsible for

39 Marcus Morton, in the Massachusetts Constitutional Convention, 1853, *Official Report of Debates*, vol. ii. p. 582. Already then Morton said: "I consider that one of the most threatening evils in our country arises from the multiplication of corporations," *ib.*

their acts, they frequently act in ways in which no self-respecting real person would think of acting, while otherwise self-respecting real persons, who really are the actors, do such acts because they are sheltered behind the real impersonality of the corporation, and excuse themselves by saying they are compelled by duty toward their fellow members.

Moreover, as corporations own only what has been conveyed to them in the first place, while they can make unlimited gain, they can suffer only limited loss. This is the principle of limited liability, by which the members are shielded from losses beyond their original subscriptions. Although this is the natural outcome of the idea of a corporation,[40] corporations were in the beginning not so treated, and the members were held liable for the defalcation of their corporations to the full extent of their own fortunes. Then they necessarily took a vital interest in the management. Now the principle of limited liability is almost universally observed, and the concern of the members for the management is greatly reduced.

In our country, also, large owners universally have votes in proportion to their holdings, and they may receive without limit proxies from the smaller holders, who find it not worth while to attend meetings in person. Here are two more absolutely false principles, which permit in many corporations one or a few men, by controlling fifty-one *per cent.* of the votes, to run the business as if they owned the whole.[41] Even when this is not quite the case, there is little supervision by the many owners of the combined capital over the few managers, of whom questions are seldom asked, so long as satisfactory dividends are paid. Owners purposely shut their eyes to what their agents are doing, so that their conscience may not be troubled. Even those of them who are chosen to be directors do so, leaving the full control to the president they choose, whose conduct they judge by the amount of dividends he earns for them. All states naturally suffer from the evil that the many cannot control the few who run the government. The system of corporations unnecessarily reproduces and extends this evil by artificially creating, within the civil state, innumerable economic states deliberately established on an oligarchic basis.

And among the general powers in our country accorded to

40 So in the Roman law: "Si quid universitati debetur, singulis non debetur; nec, quod debet universitas, singuli debent," *Digest*, III. iv. 7, §1. This was the principle, notice, near the end of the ancient cycle.

41 Our financiers have forgotten, or suppressed, the advice of their arch-leader, Hamilton, that in the bank he was founding the number of votes allowed to individuals should progress at a rate much slower than their shares, *Works* (Lodge's ed.), iii, 158, 169.

corporations are those permitting one corporation to buy and hold stock in, or to lease the property of, other corporations, like a state annexing distant dominions; which still further removes the control from the individual stockholders, who hardly know what their corporation owns, and concentrates control still more in the hands of a few, by eliminating the directors of the engulfed corporations. So general has this practice become, that it is done as a matter of course, even without the special grant of power. Hence by combination of corporations in the same line of business, competition may be suppressed and monopolies set up. Corporations, once successful, grow indefinitely, and rarely decline until they have destroyed what they feed on.

In all this laxness in the treatment of corporations, both by the state and by their members — the great powers granted by the state to corporations and by their members handed over to their managers,— lies a cause of much of the corruption which now permeates finance and from it overflows into politics. The theory of corporation profit is that a company of persons may throw some of their capital into a common stock of a certain amount, appoint managers of it, who shall conduct the business, and pay out the net profits in dividends to the shareholders. The managers must themselves be shareholders, interested in the profits, and, like other workers employed by the corporation, they receive salaries paid out of the gross receipts. The advantages of the system are that it permits the formation of large aggregates of capital beyond the capacity of individuals for the undertaking of large enterprises, enabling individuals to share in the exceptional profits derivable therefrom, and on the part of the organisers, who generally become the first managers, yielding to them salaries large in proportion to the size of the business. But in practice the immense fortunes of latter-day corporation-mongers are not made in this slow manner. They are made by the managers buying and selling stocks in the market, taking advantage of their foreknowledge of the factors that determine the movement of prices, and manipulating these factors by amplifying their variations, on the side of the stocks by varying the yield of profit, and on the side of the currency by varying its supply; by forming subsidiary companies of their own into which they pour the patronage of the larger companies they manage, or taking commissions in various ways from other companies, just as the steward of a large household gets fees from the trades-people who supply his master; by using the large size of their companies, especially when combined with others, in unfair competition with smaller rivals, reducing prices in their neighbourhood, compelling dealers to exclude their

goods, getting rebates from transportation companies (or getting exclusive custom by granting rebates), cutting off their credit, and then buying-in the smaller plants for next to nothing after ruining them; and after in these ways, as also by using the impersonal powers of an abstract entity to browbeat their workmen, getting undue profits for their own shareholders, hiding the excessive amount by issuing watered stock, much of which is deflected into their own individual receptacles; or, worst of all, by wrecking some large corporation of which they have the control, making money all the while by selling "short" in the first place and then buying back the stock cheap and setting the corporation on its feet again. Not long ago a man was reputed to be worth five millions, when he was made president of one of our railroad companies; he served five years, when he died and was found to be worth fifty millions. If a president of the United States should make a fiftieth of that man's gains in eight years of hard service, he would be eternally disgraced. But that man was honoured by the erection of a bronze statue. If one of our postmasters-general, who manages the largest business in the country, should make a hundredth of what was made by a certain manager of telegraph lines, concerning whom it used to be said that it would be a shame if he were allowed to die in his bed, he would be impeached, imprisoned, disfranchised. But that man not only died in his bed, but his family are now connected with the French nobility. There is much petty graft in the clerical conduct of politics, and possibly very little graft in the clerical conduct of corporational as of private business. A score of years ago a prominent politician, backed by his party for the presidency of the United States, left the cabinet of one of our democratic presidents for the greater opportunities of gain offered by the presidency of a city street-car company. Some political "bosses," indeed, outside of office, have made considerable fortunes, but only by dealing with business men, and using the methods of business men.

Yet such corruption as does exist in politics, lamentable as it is, including even that which comes from the tariff-protected interests, has its root in the affiliation of the government with corporations. There is no such thing as a completely "private corporation": the term expresses but a half-truth. Every such corporation is a mixture of public power with private functions, while some corporations perform even public functions, the only thing private about them being private capital and private control. Now, the men who form corporations always get special privileges (limited liability being the type) and often get exclusive powers (as in railroad and municipal franchises) from the men who com-

pose the government; and as long as the public sits by and permits this relationship, there will exist a temptation for the former to bribe the latter and for the latter to be bribed by the former, the bribery being effected in many more reputable ways than the handing over of money, and being directed first toward the legislature to pass easy laws, then toward the executive to wink at infractions in some cases and to be strict in others, and lastly toward the judiciary to confirm their powers and to nullify interference.

This is why it is not possible to say that the system of private property really exists to-day; for it is entangled with government grants. The government does not do all the public's business, but allows private parties to do some of it for it. And individuals do not do all their own business, but get the government to make legal entities do it for them. Hence the principle of *laissez-faire* does not apply, never has been applied (and consequently never has been disproved), and is not now applied, and cannot be applied; for to apply to fictitious persons the liberty that naturally belongs to real persons would be preposterous, and most dangerous would it be to leave the same freedom of action to men whose liability is limited as to men whose liability is unlimited. For instance, the principles of liberty which Adam Smith applied to banking were directed toward banks of unlimited liability; yet many of our false instructors would apply them to our banks, all of which have limited liability, and they are chagrined that the common sense of the people has been sound enough to forbid. To let privileged bodies do what they please is very different from letting unprivileged persons do what they please. You can let the unprivileged alone, but you cannot let the privileged alone, or else, as you must sanction their privileges, you are abetting their transgressions. Their privileges are to be sustained only for some avowedly good public purpose. Therefore you must see to it that they do not depart from that purpose: you must regulate them, though you will generally do so unsuccessfully, and much better would it be not to give them the privileges in the first place. But the privileges having been given, to adopt *laissez-faire* now would be to let things alone as they are, it would be to "stand pat," to be conservative, with things that ought not to be. And to leave off regulating, to cease restricting, would be to march toward such improper *laissez-faire*. Even the extreme advocate of personal freedom, Herbert Spencer, admitted that a former "excess of restriction" had swung over, in conformity with his alleged law of rhythm, into a present "deficiency of restriction."[42]

The three hundred thousand and more corporations at present

42 *Principles of Sociology*, § 824, *cf.* § 852 end.

existing in the United States alone, cannot be destroyed. But the country ought rather to discourage than to encourage their continuance and extension. The sole economic purpose of incorporation is to enable large enterprises to be undertaken by combined capital. Therefore incorporation should be confined to new and to large concerns, and in lines of business in which large concerns alone are efficient. Small corporations mostly have no reason for existence good on public grounds. Large corporations in old lines of business like agriculture are not needed; and large private concerns already existing show that they do not require incorporation, wherefore their conversion into corporations, to relieve the proprietor's descendants from care, while capitalising for them forever their ancestor's exceptional ability, should not be permitted. Yet size is relative, and in such business as banking, in which private enterprise is almost abandoned, small corporations in small towns may be tolerated. In general, corporations should be treated for what they are — creatures of the state, fully within the power of their creator; not extendible beyond its borders; not persons, and not to be treated as persons; not possessed of natural rights, but only of what is conceded to them; for only the persons that compose them have natural rights, but corporations are distinct from the persons that compose them, and there is no natural right to form an artificial entity privileged with unlimited powers, but with limited liability. As they may act criminally, yet cannot be punished criminally except by legal death through forfeiture of charter, either there should be such forfeiture of charter, or their officers (president or directors, designated for the purpose) should be held criminally liable, *ipso facto,* for their delinquencies. There might be even a simpler method for making them obedient, which would be for the government to refuse liability for the destruction of the property of any being or body who or which has broken the laws, on the principle that he who comes into court should come with clean hands. Their charters should be granted for limited terms, not longer than the life of a generation, say twenty years, renewable if well conducted, by plebiscite. Their functions should be strictly defined, and confined to some specific functions that naturally hang together, with nullification of all evasions. They should be circumscribed to some particular locality: a manufacturing corporation, for instance, should be defined as the owner of a certain factory erected or to be erected on a certain lot ready to be turned over to it, with power at most to expand later over contiguous or neighbouring lots in the same town or township; a railway corporation should be of a particular line between defi-

nite points; a mining corporation for the mining of a particular mine, without any permission to purchase other mines or other distant mineral lands; and so on. Nor should any corporation be allowed to own or to lease another corporation of any kind or description, although loaning corporations (banking, insurance, etc.) must be allowed to own temporarily the property of a defaulting corporation or bankrupt person on which they have held a mortgage. Exception is here to be made only in case of transportation corporations, where the public weal is promoted by their union (as when their ends join, not when they are more or less parallel), to be determined by the state, or preferably by a popular vote of the people in the region interested. There is no reason for permitting such coalescence or absorption to corporations conducted solely for private profit. The very purpose of instituting corporations is to set them up as distinct entities. No good purpose is served by combination. The only proper economy is effected by large establishments, not by combination of large establishments. Combinations do make economies, but principally by stifling competition, and thereby affording opportunity for the proprietors to appropriate the savings, instead of opening them to the public, which is defrauded of the further advantages that are more likely to come from competition; which the government, therefore, ought carefully to preserve.

The *Carthago* that is *delenda,* the *infâme* that should be *écrasé,* the many-tentacled octopus that should be stabbed at the centre, is monopoly. Monopoly is the arch foe of freedom, of effort, of the operation of the forces for the survival of the fittest through natural selection. It thrives not so much by its own excellence, as by the restraint of others. It is a cheat and a fraud, the rival of violence, but as inferior to violence as a sneak-thief to a brigand. Violence defeats violence, but corruption augments corruption, and monopoly is the loathsome outcome. Monopoly may crop up everywhere — in government, in religion, in trade, in manufacture, in finance. It has been driven from the state and from the church, but is now roosting on industry. The socialists would combat it only by extending it — by substituting for the several monopolies in the hands of capitalists the single monopoly of the state in the hands of the labourers. Their scheme is bound to be futile. It is for the state itself to destroy monopoly wherever monopoly is unnatural, and to throw the industry open to individuals, or at worst to distinct corporations too numerous for combination, for the purpose of preserving competition wherever competition is nat-

ural. The doctrine itself must be abandoned, now favoured by our monopolisers and their dupes, that competition is an evil,— a doctrine which plays into the hands of the socialists. So-called "cut-throat" competition takes place only where the competitors have by combinations been reduced to a few; for then each one realises that by a supreme effort it may destroy or absorb its rivals, all of whom it has in sight, and then recoup its losses from the unchecked gains of monopoly. Where the competitors are numerous, no such complete slaughter can take place, and though the weakest perish, it is through their own incompetency, and their disappearance serves the public good.

(4) Yet certain natural monopolies exist that cannot be obviated. Such are the means of land-transportation over rails of persons, of goods, of messages, and of supplies like water, oil, gas, electricity, through pipes or wires;[43] for where one company has the right of way, another cannot go. And not far removed from these are the several varieties of insurance, which, though not necessarily to be conduced by single companies, are best managed by a single company in every country or state. Besides the characteristic of acquiring monopoly values for their services or deliveries, all these transporting businesses possess the characteristic, distinguishing them from ordinary industries, that they cannot be entered upon by individuals or corporations without grants from government: they belong to the public first, and can by the public's representative be either given or sold away, or retained. The state simply acts foolishly if it lets them out of its hands completely. It should, therefore, either undertake them itself, or incorporate companies to undertake them under its own supervision. States have almost everywhere begun, when these enterprises were extended by new inventions, by leaving them to companies, often incorporated, with no or little supervision; and these corporations have everywhere taken to themselves the monopoly gains, committing the two grave faults of overcharging the public who lend them the power, and of domineering over their employés like irresponsible despots. States have, therefore, everywhere had to assume supervision becoming more and more strict, with a tendency, already in some lines everywhere and in others somewhere exhibited, of taking the concerns back under their own management. Preliminary and experimental advance under private initiative is followed by definitive organisation under governmental management.[44]

43 Wireless telegraphy, by removing the last condition, will, when the patents expire, it is to be hoped, take telegraphic communication out of the province of natural monopoly.

44 *Cf.* J. P. Davis, *Corporations*, i. 89, ii. 200.

Governments have successively taken over the management of roads, of canals, of the post, of metallic money (but not yet generally of paper currency, for the stabilisation of the measure of value), and, some of them, of railways, of the telegraph and telephone, and, ours the last, also of the parcel post; while a similar tendency has shown itself in municipalities with regard to water, gas, electricity, and tram-car service. Armies have at times been privately enrolled and let out to rulers; likewise companies of nightwatchmen; and colonies have been founded and governed by corporations: all which are things of the past.

Governmental control almost equivalent to governmental management may be suggested as follows:— As the government should take by taxation the surplus-value of land in private ownership, so should the government take the surplus profit (all above, say, twice the prevalent rate of interest) of the corporations conducting public utilities; and just as in the government itself the public's various interests are represented in the legislature, so let it require that in the directorate of such corporations the interests not only of the shareholders but of the employés and of the public be represented. The directors chosen by the employés of such corporations, and those chosen by the public which is served by them and which supports them, should be paid like other directors, but should be forbidden to own stock, so that their interest should not be on the shareholders' side. Of course publicity of their accounts will be required of all companies permitted by the public to do the public's business.

The query may occur, whether other corporations should not afterward gradually be subjected to similar treatment, at least all those which have acquired anything like a monopoly of the market (say by controlling two-thirds of it) in their lines of production. The state is responsible for these entities, and should not permit them to mistreat either the public or their employés. Let it, then, require them (such monopolies) either to recognise the unions of their workmen, or to admit representatives of their workmen among their directors, and also, if possible, representatives of their customers.[45] And let it take to itself in taxation, for the public benefit, all their inordinate gains above the ordinary rate of profit on the capital actually invested,— their monopoly gains, which are entirely due to the public's permission. To do

45 When the financiers back of any of our immense corporations talk of the propriety of their being permitted to "run their own business," they talk arrant nonsense. Not they, but the corporation owns the business; and it is immaterial to the corporation to whom the state, its creator, assigns the management. If financiers wish to run their own business, let them confine themselves to private partnerships.

this, the government would have to assess all our monster corporations at their cost value, which includes both the actual cost of the fixed capital and the amount of floating capital ordinarily required to run the amount of the fixed. Let it then permit them to earn, say, ten *per cent.* profit, and take as a tax all profit in excess of that. In fact, all profit in excess of that is properly rent for the use of the land or natural resources which these corporations own and monopolise; and so the tax taking all this extra profit is only the collection of rent from the land, in accordance with the single-tax principle.

If such taxing were adopted of our industrial monopolies, as of necessary monopolies of public utilities, in imitation of the proper taxing of land monopoly, the result would be different from that in the latter case, as capital differs from land.[46] The corporations would have no interest to earn more than ten *per cent.* profit, and would soon cease to do so, unless the government required them to make more for the sake of revenue. They would, on the one hand, lower their selling prices or the charges for their services; and, on the other, they would raise their expenditures. They would be less insistent upon refusing advance of wages. Their managers would probably like to raise their own salaries. This would have to be guarded against. The lowering of prices and the better service would tend to increase their business, and require more capital, enlarging the corporations. This need no longer be feared, and should be encouraged. Let the salaries of the managers be regulated in proportion to the gross business. That would make it their interest both to keep up the profits to the ten-*per-cent.* limit and to enlarge the business; whence both their workmen and their customers will derive benefit. As a collateral effect, the values of shares would be steadied, and stock-gambling diminished. And ultimately, because somewhat hampered and handicapped, limited-liability corporations would give way to business firms or to unchartered companies with unlimited liability, which would again come into fashion, much to the improvement of honesty and self-respect.

"The struggle of men to outvie one another in production," said Toynbee, "is beneficial to the community; their struggle over the divison of the joint produce is not."[47] The one should be given a free field; the other should be suppressed by state regulation. The trouble with the socialists is that they would do

46 This tax, however, would merge with the land-tax on all the land actually used, and would be supplemented by the land-tax on unused land held by the corporations. The land-tax on the latter should come out of the ten-*per-cent. profits*, and leave the dividends below that figure.

47 *The Industrial Revolution*, 66.

away with competition in both the departments. The trouble with their extremest opponents (the old-fashioned liberals) is that they would give free rein to it in both. The trouble with their present-day monopolising opponents,— perhaps the worst of all,— is that they would do away with competition where it ought to be left, in production, and would leave it where it ought to be done away with, in distribution. The true position, to repeat, is exactly the reverse.

Such views as are here presented are often themselves denounced as socialistic. They are socialistic only by a vague extension of the term. Socialism is sometimes defined by an accident, that it involves an increase of governmental action.[48] But another accident of socialism is that it suppresses competition. So does the existing system of unrestrained corporationism at least in production. The existing system, then, is as socialistic as the one offered in its place. If you fear a system that would restrict corporationism because it is socialistic as increasing governmental management, much more ought you to dread unrestricted corporationism because it is socialistic as suppressing competition between producers. Really the essence of the socialism that deserves to be condemned, is equalism. Of this there is nothing in the proposals here made.[49]

The term "socialism" has been badly chosen, as any scheme to improve society has a right to this term. It is only in a very narrow sense that it can be confined to the scheme that aims at the utmost equality. This is the reprehensible socialism. Beyond this, in a wide sense of the term, there may be many other kinds of socialism, and among them may be a reasonable socialism; for the present condition of society is far from perfect, and some scheme therefore may improve it. Such is a scheme which, while leaving complete freedom of action, compatible with similar freedom of action in others, to every one that does not ask state aid for special privileges, does restrict freedom of action of those who do ask state aid for special privileges, and guards the interest of the public from being granted away to, or invaded by, individuals. This scheme would destroy all monopoly in private hands; and only because nothing can ever destroy all monopolies, since some are natural, and because we cannot immediately do away with others that have been permitted an unhealthy growth, does it recommend the assumption of the former by the state (or by the municipality under it), or at least its strict

[48] *Cf.* above, pp. 68–9.

[49] That municipalisation is not socialism, we have the authority both of the opponent of socialism, Lecky, *Democracy and Liberty*, ii. 363 (but *cf.* 396), and of the socialist Hillquit, *Socialism in Theory and Practice*, 286.

supervision of them, and certainly its strict supervision over the latter, in the interest of all, including both the workers and the consumers. Very different is the unreasonable and reprehensible socialism now rampant, that of Marx and the Social Democratic party, which wishes to set up one all-inclusive monopoly, doing away with all competition and all freedom of action on the part of individuals, inciting to the seizure by the workingmen of all the instruments of production, the equal division among them of all the produce, the reduction of all men to the condition of industrial workers, and the abolition of class distinctions by the destruction of all classes above the lowest. This socialism, indeed, which alone claims the name and makes it a misnomer for equalism, differs *toto coelo* from the former. Yet the two are confounded in such curious ways that what is recommendable in the one is used as a recommendation of the other, and what is condemnable in this is used for condemning that. Thus many persons are advocates of unreasonable socialism because of what they see commendable in some rational scheme of social improvement; and many oppose any and every rational scheme of social improvement because of what they see to be condemnable in that socialism. Yet that narrowly defined socialism is utterly unrealisable. It has no ground to stand on. There is no sound argument in its behalf. If it were attempted, it would not succeed. It will not be attempted, because the moment its realisation becomes imminent, those who have urged it only because of the rational kind of socialism will withdraw their support. The whole not deserving to be an object of fear, those parts of it which it has in common with reasonable socialism, are much less to be feared. Only to be combated are the parts that go beyond reason. The advocates even of these, however, ought not to be persecuted, however much we despise them. To imprison socialists and anarchists because of their views and their expression of them, taking advantage of any peccadillo or of any far-fetched accusation of their possible connection with some crime to convict them, is to do them too much honour, at the same time that it is to commit injustice and to stain still further our already much too tainted social state. If socialistic and anarchistic arguments cannot be met by arguments, we ought to give in to them. While anarchism, of course, is pure nonsense till the millennium, the term "socialistic" hurled here and there should be a bugaboo to none but the irrational.

(5) We must not forget the last requirement — that of gratuitous justice in civil affairs as well as in criminal. We have the latter. We have not the former. Yet there is as good reason for

the one as for the other. It is the state's function to maintain justice without discrimination. People are taxed for this purpose, and if there is any service that the state should render free of charge to any one who has the misfortune to need it, it is this one. Its introduction would greatly multiply law-suits at first, but it would soon reduce them to the minimum, because fraud will not be tempted if there is considerable likelihood of punishment. Swiftness of justice is also requisite. For this the courts should always be open, and plentifully supplied with judges. We need, in fact, more judges and fewer lawyers. For good administration, the first courts applied to should be good enough, and there should be no appeal to so-called higher courts. It is a false theory that appeals sift out justice, forgetting that it is not higher beings that sit in these misnamed courts, but only men like those in the others. Make the first courts as good as courts can be, and there will be no need of second ones. Appeals should be tolerated only in cases of flagrant injustice, and should be ordered by the executive, this power taking the place of the executive's power of pardon, which is altogether unjustifiable. Also when a first decision is reversed, if not due to subsequent testimony, it ought to be investigated and the blame located and punishment inflicted. Such reforms are especially needed for the poor, and it is surprising that the socialists, who are supposed to have the interest of the poor so much at heart, have not advocated this more seriously. Herbert Spencer, who has the merit of being one of the first to urge the duty of gratuitous justice, well said: "The trespasses of the wealthy against the poor would be rare, were it not that the aggrieved have practically no remedy." [50] It is the trespasses of the wealthy against the poor that to-day are the cause of oppression; and to the lack of civil justice is privilege mostly due.

But in everything the golden mean should be the aim, and in abrogating the trespasses of the wealthy upon the poor, we should be on our guard not to permit trespasses of the poor upon the wealthy. Even the newest socialism which, more moderate, is beginning to oust the Marxian revolutionary socialism,— the socialism of social reformers, occupied with the labour movement, is a danger threatening in this direction. Its "new and distinct code of ethics," according to one of its leaders, and as may be seen in constant practise, extols "conduct conducive to the welfare of their class," [51]— of the hand-labouring class, only one class in society, and that, though numerically the largest, in

50 *Social Statics*, ch. xxi. § 5.
51 Hillquit, *Socialism in Theory and Practice*, 62.

efficiency the lowest. The aim should be the welfare of all — the formation and promotion of a wise upper class, of a shrewd middle class, and of a sound lower class.

We have seen that in the culminating period of civilisation, wherein we are at present, the prevalent privileges are those of wealth. We should add that in the descending period of civilisation that follows, the rival privileges are those of labour. The privileges of wealth confront us, and are the evil we should seek to lessen. But behind them loom up the attempted privileges of labour. These are the Scylla upon which there is danger of shattering when we escape from the whirl of Charybdis. It may be that we are fated to make the transition; yet effort, if it may not attain safety indefinitely, may hasten the deliverance from the one kind of privileges and retard our approach to the other.

CHAPTER IX.

SOCIALISM IN THE FUTURE — AND RELIGION

THE abolition of privilege, or any very radical reform, seems unlikely any more in our civilisation. It is the nature of civilisation that it expends its vital forces about as it reaches its culmination. It has raised up successive classes and corrupted them by prosperity, till there are none left with strength enough to cut out the gangrene. The case seems especially hopeless in our country. In other countries the upper classes are divided, and the lower classes are mostly of one variety; but here we have only the homogeneous class of the rich over against a heterogeneous class of poor people assembled from all over the world. Ours is a country of business men, every one of whom is seeking privileges for himself, and though the major number of unsuccessful ones envy the few who do succeed, yet they must admire them. They cannot loathe those who have only done what they themselves are trying to do.

The ideal, in fact, which is now taught in university, pulpit, and press, is of a tame proletariat, an obsequious middle class, and a self-paying upper class. The first shall labour hard when they get a job; when not, they shall be grateful for a pittance of charity; they shall never combine, and always compete. The last shall never compete and always combine; they shall do service by ruling the state and giving largesses to the people, to keep them quiet. The middle ones shall carry on the small trades left over in the interstices of big business; shall conduct the big business, and even the state, under the direction of the first, and receive moderate pay. Everything will then work smoothly and nicely. The poor will be taken care of by the rich, and the rich will take to themselves as much of the surplus as will be safe, and will grow richer in spite of all their expenditures. It is an ideal of peace, of plenty, and of penury.

All this is very pretty; but now for the reverse. The rich will give service as they please, and many will give none: their aim will be enjoyment. The poor will not be contented, though quiet. The middle class, losing their independence, will lose that which

distinguishes them from the lowest. The wealth of a smaller and smaller number of individuals may increase, but that of the whole will, in time, decline. Yet, attracted by the glitter of the grandees, the barbarians will at last come to the attack; and there will be nobody to defend; for the miserable proletariat, already disarmed, will be worthless, and also indifferent,— may even side with the invaders, to share in the loot; the middle class will be unfit for hard fighting, and also too few; and the rich can only command, but will have no good material to command. England has come perilously near to this condition. Its "hooligans" are its weak element, and from them a considerable part of its army must be drawn. But its coast still provides men, who, in the navy, are its saviours.

Just the opposite is our need. We need a strong and violent proletariat, who will not allow themselves to be trampled on; a vigorous and intelligent middle class, who will not allow themselves to be imposed upon; and a sensible upper class, who, bold in enterprise, yet stand in awe of their own good fortune and, being made to feel, do feel their responsibility for it. To keep them in this state of mind, or to bring them back to it when they have departed from it, there is constant need of reforms and occasional of revolutions,— not of futile uprisings, which do more harm than good, but of happy renovations, whether by force of arms or by force of ideas. Such doses are, in the words of Jefferson, "a medicine necessary for the sound health of government."[1] The decay of civilisation takes place when at last there remains no portion of the population competent to carry through a revolution. We seem to be approaching this condition now. Yet we have not reached it. The plutocratic ideal will not attain its maximum of dominion for yet a little while. There will at least be attempts at reform or at revolution. May they not collapse, like those of the Gracchi, which were the turning point in the development of Rome.

Still, the chances do not appear to be good for any fundamental reformation. There is too much diversity of opinions, too much dissipation of energy, too many quacks each with his own nostrum. The holders of privilege are united, the opponents divided.

The great cause of trouble is that Nature provides us with no clear positive solution, but only with the negative requirement of abolishing privilege and injustice. She does not decide the question of right for us. In the most important matters there is no natural norm of justice. What is the amount of profit it is just

1 *Works*, Washington ed., ii. 105.

for a merchant or manufacturer to ask? Nature gives no answer. What is the wage an employer should give his employés? Nature says nothing. What is the amount of rent a tenant should pay? Here Nature supplies a theoretical solution, but she provides no way of applying it to particular cases. Competition is her only method — competition on both sides. But competition is conflict, and the effort to do away with it, by succeeding only on one side, cripples competition on the other, and renders the whole unbalanced and unfair. Restore competition on both sides, and you get rid of a gross injustice, but you do not necessarily introduce justice. Again, what is our right to the soil? Here Nature is silent, or inconsistent. Has an individual a right to own any portion of the earth, to the perpetual exclusion of others? Nature does not say yes, and if she said no, then what would she say to a tribe owning a certain district of the earth's surface, from which it excludes other tribes? or a city thus owning land? or a nation? In our modern states is it the nation that should own all the land in common, or is it the State (in the United States), or is it the city, or the township, or a village? Socialists attempt to answer these questions in one or more ways, individualists in another, both appealing to Nature. But Nature makes no reply. At any rate, man has a right to own what he makes. Here Nature is decisive, but again without precision in application. For what does a man make? He does not make materials. Then how does he own the materials in what he makes out of them? Has God or Nature given us the materials equally, or jointly, or individually? The question is the same as that about the land over again. And Nature still gives no answer.

Nor does religion. The only thing that Christianity (or at least the religion of Jesus) says on the subject is, that we should do unto others as we would they should do unto us. Then suppose a dispute occurs over the ownership of a field: as each party wishes the other to give in to him, he ought to give in to the other: the dispute would be where it was before, only reversed. Or if the one party were a follower of Jesus and the other not, the latter would always win, and his kind would soon own the earth. Christianity no more than Nature tells us whether land should be owned by individuals or by men in common, and in the latter case by what bodies of men. Nor does it any more than Nature tell what rent the landlord should demand, what profit the manufacturer or merchant should exact, what wages the employer should give to his labourers. "Render unto your servants that which is just," says the apostle.[2] But what is just?

[2] *Col.* IV. 1, (*cf. Matt.* XX. 4).

Possibly Paul would have been satisfied with a little more than what was then the usual average wage. Always, indeed, for philanthropic reformers the alternative seems to be between the average and a little better. Similarly the Old Testament commands us not to steal or even to covet another's property. But what *is* another's property? It does not define.[3] Christianity only tells — and Nature tells that too, all morality tells it — that we should not cheat one another, and should rather act like friends than enemies. But friends, when they come to bargain among themselves, find the same difficulty to determine the right. And when some refuse to be friends, others will only be taken in, if they continue to treat them like friends.

Christianity, therefore, like Nature, has left the decision of these practical questions to fighting, and to the exhaustion that comes after fighting, and to the expediency then recognised of forming agreements without fighting. But what ought the agreements to be? This is the province of socialism proper.

For socialism proper is applied sociology. And the true socialism has not yet been discovered: it is a problem still unsolved. We are only beginning to know some of the constituent problems themselves, not their solutions. Of these we have as yet in but few cases hardly a presentiment, though in some cases we know very well what they cannot be. True socialism cannot be egalitarianism. It must take natural inequalities into account: it must seek to give unequal reward to unequal merit. Equality of opportunity is the desideratum, but how it is to be effected nobody (except to some extent Henry George) has yet been able to tell. The as yet never attempted task must be achieved of preventing the incapable from obtaining by inheritance, or at least from transmitting to still more incapable descendants, the reward of the capable, and at the same time not take away from the capable the incentive to provide for their presumably capable offspring without spoiling them. It must go even further, and foster the advent into society of the capable and discountenance that of the incapable. In other words, it must see to it that the upper and the best classes be rendered as prolific and the lower or the worst classes as sterile as they possibly can be made. They cannot be made so directly by law. They can be made so only indirectly by making the environment such that only the capable are fit to survive. And this can be done only through new institutions or customs; and these new institutions or customs must

3 So it forbids us to murder (for this is the meaning of "kill" in the commandment, since it permits, even enjoins, killing in many instances); but it does not define what murder is, or what killing is justifiable and what not.

be such as not to bring with them greater evils than the good they do — not, for instance, weaken the people by whom they are adopted, so that it shall fall before other peoples kept strong by adversity. But who will invent these institutions? What are they? The problem is only for future solution.

Socialism, moreover, can only be based on a new world-view, — new for our cycle at least; which, in fact, is now being made, but the adaptation to it is not yet made. The old morality (like that at the beginning of every civilisation cycle hitherto) had its basis in another world — or rather in the space surrounding this cosmos of ours (itself very small, in the old view): above, heaven, and below, hell. But for us the space of the cosmos itself has become infinite, and heaven and hell have disappeared. In the old and primitive morality and religion, the world was created for a habitation for men. That, too, has gone, and men are now only an evolved species in the lead of changing species on one tiny sphere, itself little more than an atom in the molecule of a solar and planetary system, among the immeasurable mazes that compose the universe. Till recently morality was an affair of the gods, or of God. Now it is an affair only of mankind. Hence a new morality is needed, and undoubtedly the new morality will be one that identifies moral action with social action.[4] Of course there was a similar change in the ancient cycle. The philosophers invented a new morality based on natural reason, and offered it in place of the old morality based on tradition and custom and on opinion of what the gods wanted. But their new morality was rather individualistic than social, being based more on wisdom than on justice; and in being more social than individualistic, to be founded more solidly on justice, the morality of the future will be an improvement in the progression of the cycles. Yet in antiquity that new morality never succeeded in getting itself widely introduced. And so at present the new morality cannot be created and established in a day. It has been anticipated by another new morality, which has got the start of it — the new morality of sentiment (fostered by feminism), a morality of sheer individualism (thinly disguised behind socialist collectivism), which, because it leads to decline, must be ousted before the better morality can be introduced. Probably this cannot be done in a single cycle: the morality now coming in must first accomplish its work of disintegration and destruction. In antiquity the transition from the many gods to the one god took centuries to accomplish; and it may take equally long to settle mankind in a sound morality dependent on no god.

4 *Cf.* Pearson, *Ethic of Freethought*, 309–10.

Socialism, then, or anything like socialism as a complete system, we may be sure, will not come in our cycle. We may, and probably shall, have particular measures seeking greater equality at the expense of liberty, that will hamper competition and put a drag on excellence, and will contribute to the decline of our civilisation, as similar measures did to the decline of the Roman. But socialism, as a whole, is a new kind of civilisation itself, which cannot be suddenly substituted for the existing one. The "expropriation of the expropriators" dreamt of by Marx would be a cataclysm such as the world has never seen, and is incapable of suffering. As a new kind of civilisation, socialism is a new organism of society, and organisms on so large a scale take ages to develop. It is, too, one that will require a higher development of our social faculties than mankind has yet attained to, and which will be unattainable without the new morality which fosters social altruism. "It will be long," says Spencer, "before social discipline has so far modified human character, that reverence for law, as rooted in the moral order of things, will serve in place of reverence for the power which enforces law."[5] But not till then will socialism be possible; for, as Karl Pearson has well said, "socialism as a polity can only become possible when socialism as a morality has become general."[6] Furthermore, it will require a much simpler state of society than that which now exists for it to be introduced into. It will need more world-wide uniformity of ideas and customs; and even then the power of defence must be stronger than the power of attack, to render it safe for any one country to lead the way.

It may, therefore, perhaps, come at the beginning of a new cycle of civilisation, and accompany it throughout its development, as the new principle of the new civilisation. Time will then be allowed for its development from simplicity to complexity, and for the adaptation of the people for it in better training and discipline.[7] The seeds of the new cycle must be prepared in this; and we have them already, not only in idea, but in practice — in co-

5 *Study of Sociology*, 174.
6 *Ethic of Freethought*, 413.
7 It is remarkable that the doctrines of the individualist Spencer really favour the view that in the course of time socialism may be possible, though it is not possible now. Now our system of employment, he says, is "about as good as existing human nature allows," and it must still be tolerated "because, for the time being, no other organisation will answer as well," *Study of Sociology*, 252. The regulation of industry that now exists, he again says, "is costly because the men to be regulated are defective. With decrease of their defects will come economy of regulation, and consequently greater shares of profit to themselves," 253. He expects a time of "higher social forces," when idleness as now lived by the rich will be thought disgraceful, 259–61. His ideal agrees with that of some socialists, "that each ought to get neither more nor less than an equivalent for his services," 420. The "utterly baseless belief," however, of our present-day socialists is "the belief that faulty character can so organise itself socially, as to get out of itself a conduct which is not proportionately faulty," 22.

operative societies. These apply socialistic principles in the only way they can be applied, without unjust expropriation of capitalists, many of whom have acquired their property honestly, and by voluntary action of those who enter the associations. This movement has had but a small beginning as yet, and it is slow — too slow for the high-vaulting socialists. Yet it may be the leaven that is leavening the mass; and some day Robert Owen may be recognised as the greatest socialist of them all, perhaps in company with Henry George. We have seen that the progress of government is from rulership by self-appointing and self-paying rulers to rulership by the people through employment of agents whom they choose, direct, and pay. In industry there are signs of the same phenomenon, only delayed. Industry has progressed through the coming to the front and the seizing of the leadership, of men directing affairs in their own right and paying themselves, — and like the old rulers taking the lion's share. The line of advance in industry should continue to be the same as in politics. That is, the workers should come to guide themselves, appointing their own directors, and paying them. This is far from meaning that the present state should take over the competitive industries that now exist, and run them. On the contrary, it means that there should be the same development from within the industries as there has been from within the state. Nothing stands in the way except the fact that the industrial workers are not yet ripe for the change, just as a couple of centuries ago the mass of the people were nowhere ripe for introducing democracy. When the workmen in general have learnt the same husbandry of their resources which marks the beginning of the career of all industrial leaders, then they may acquire their own workshops and machinery, and appoint their directors. And if industries so democratically organised can successfully compete with industries aristocratically organised, just as peoples democratically organised have successfully competed (for the present war has not disproved this) with the peoples aristocratically organised, then the new order of things may become permanent.[8] Perhaps some exhibition of physical force will be necessary to extend it prevalently, as was necessary at times to consolidate political democracy; but that force will not succeed if it be employed before the people are sufficiently advanced to maintain the change. It is

8 Said Marx: "The co-operative factories furnish proof, that the capitalist has become just as superfluous as a functionary in production, as he himself, in his highest developed form, finds the great real-estate owner superfluous," *Capital*, iii. 455. Unfortunately they do not furnish this proof sufficiently yet. And when they do, there will be need of no other. So also, unfortunately, the people of Germany have not yet proved their princes to be, for them, superfluous.

this capacity to maintain the change proposed that is at present so woefully wanting.

Meanwhile the extension of the co-operative system, the adoption of the single ground-rent tax, the abolition of free corporationism, and the introduction of gratuitous justice will go a long way toward preparing the people for a better cycle in the future. Especially the last, on top of the others, and to some extent even without them, would bring the true religious idea of the universe into execution already within this world, punishing the wrong-doers, and leaving to every one the reward his exertions entitle him to, undiminished by the force or fraud of others. It will elevate the moral tone of the society that adopts it, driving out the incorrigibly bad, and gradually taking away, with the temptation, the thought of doing evil. Then, having the exercise of equity, people will be ready to adopt more equitable institutions, knowing that they may be carried out. Then, if these reforms are not sufficient to satisfy the most benevolent philanthropists, it may be possible, little by little, to introduce the more moderate of the socialist demands. Hardly in any other way.

A New England lady [9] has prettily, though somewhat verbosely, written a work entitled *Socialism and Character,* in which she traces the influence the introduction of socialism will supposedly have on the character of the people living under it. She would do well if she would supplement it, if not replace it, by a work, to be entitled "Character and Socialism," which should depict the character necessary in people before they could successfully adopt and work a socialistic system. In it she might inquire how such a character is to be produced out of the characters shown by people — by the poor as well as by the rich, by the employés as well as by the employers — to-day; which inquiry would perhaps lead her to the conclusion that it is not time yet to bother our heads about the effects which not the coming, but the distant socialism will have.

But that it may come in time, we need not despair. For this, the next cycle will need to be as superior to ours as ours is to the ancient.[10] But why should it not be? Wage-labour may pass away, as slave-labour passed away, because economic conditions, affected by moral views, made it unprofitable. It took slave-labour a thousand years to reach that point, and it may take wage-labour nearly as long. In antiquity nobody thought that civilisation could do without slave-labour, and if any one had dreamed

9 Miss Vida D. Scudder.

10 It was Rodbertus's opinion that socialism requires as great an advance beyond our Christian state as ours is beyond the ancient heathen, and that it will need centuries, in Meyer's *Emancipationskampf des vierten Standes,* 74, 76.

of a civilisation greater than theirs without it, he would have been laughed at. We have profited by their errors, and can conceive, and do permit people to dream, of a civilisation higher than ours without wage-labour; but our mere thought does not make it realisable. Republicanism was successful in antiquity only in the hands of the upper classes. In our civilisation it has been successful in the hands of the middle classes, with the collaboration of the upper. Perhaps in some future civilisation it will be successful in the hands of the lower classes, still with collaboration of the upper and of the middle. For that, it will be necessary for the hand-workers to have better heads than they have at present. They must know their own interest correctly, for which it will be necessary to know those of others also. They must be such that the head-workers will respect them, and mind them. In antiquity no one would have thought is possible for such a party as the modern liberals to exist, intelligently and nobly representing the middle classes of the *banausoi,* who occupy themselves with making gain from manufacture and commerce. More than a thousand years were needed before such a party could arise. Perhaps an equal length of time will be necessary before another party can with similar moderation and common sense and shrewdness represent the lower classes. Our democratic and radical parties have as yet been failures.

Our socialist party, now working only for " revised " socialism, or social reform in the interest of the labouring classes, may, then, be the leaven of another civilisation. It will pull down our civilisation, but it may build up another. It has much resemblance to Christianity in the ancient world. Christianity did not save the Roman civilisation from its decline and fall,— in fact, it contributed thereto, by weakening its resistance; but, modified and adapted to practical affairs, it bore a part in the rebuilding of our civilisation. Socialism, indeed, is antagonistic to the Christian religion to-day, but no more so than Christianity was to the heathen religion in antiquity; and as the many varieties of heathenism saw in Christianity their common enemy, so the various sects of Christianity now see in socialism their most dangerous foe. The heathen religion flattered the great of the world that they were the favourites of the gods. Christianity taught the opposite, that the last on this earth should be the first in heaven. Now Christianity is degenerate, and supports the inequalities of fortune by a doctrine of retribution, which works in appearance only, since it is perverted by the importance attached to belief. The most miserable proletarian, who has toiled all his life, producing much, but consuming little, if he does not believe, will be banished to hell;

while the most luxuriously living capitalist, who has never done a stroke of useful labour, if he believes, will be welcome in heaven. Yet a certain Christian to-day has the face to say that "if the atheistic and materialistic theory is true, the demands of socialism are certainly just — that all the goods and enjoyments of this life should be equally divided among all," as though on his own scheme the present inequality is just because it will be properly righted.[11] On the other hand, the socialists rely too much on the disappearance of heaven. "The more does faith in a life to come disappear from among the people," said Bebel, "the more the people will clamor for having their heaven on earth."[12] Yet the belief in a righteous social state which future generations shall enjoy, but which we have missed, is hardly more satisfying than a belief in a happy state after death, which we ourselves may enter into; and the one is as likely as the other. We may, however, strive to bring about the former, but not the latter, and therein lies the superiority of the new religion, and only by such striving can we deserve the promises of the old. Still, if the socialists should bring on the millennium without miraculous aid of the deity, there would then be still less need of God. "We shall then be gods," says Bellamy.[13] Indeed, if perfect justice be realised on earth, one of the most appealing arguments for immortality will be destroyed, and people will live so surfeited with happiness that they will die satisfied.

In spite of the irreligious aspect of socialism, there are many points of analogy between it and Christianity in the ancient world. Christianity and socialism each arose in a period of corruption of the rich, and they both tiraded against pride, luxury, and hypocrisy. Christianity began with the lowly, and addressed itself to the poor and the downtrodden as a religion of hope: to join it, the rich had to be willing to give away their riches. Such is the nature of socialism: its supporters from the upper classes must have the spirit of self-sacrifice, while those who join it from below have everything to gain. The Christians looked upon the heathen world as upside-down, and belonging to the devil. The socialists look upon the modern world likewise as topsy-turvy,[14]

11 Cathrein, in his *Socialism*, translated by Gettelmann, 224–4. He also says: "Reason and revelation teach that the servant should be subject to his master, the inferior to his superior, the wife to her husband, and the child to the parent, and that for conscience' sake, because it is the will of God," 206. A heathen could have spoken thus.

12 In the Reichstag, Feb. 23, 1890; quoted from Cathrein-Gettelmann's *Socialism*, 224n.; *cf. Die Frau*, 337.

13 *Equality*, 267. "Man must be revealed to man as brother before God could be revealed to him as father," 268. It used to be thought that the revelation of God as father would help to bring about the treatment of men as brothers. If men's brotherhood can be obtained without God's fatherhood, God's fatherhood will be unnecessary.

14 *Cf.* Marx above, pp. 101–2.

as fundamentally wrong, and as given over to mammon. Both considered, and consider, that they ought not to do what has been done, and ought to do what has not been done.[15] The Christians, though loving among themselves, acquired the reputation of being haters of humanity. So the socialists, though teaching the doctrine of all for all, are feared for inciting class against class. The Christians, by retiring from the world, did nothing to improve it, until it had gone to pieces, when they were left in command. So our socialists are doing nothing to improve the world as it is: working piecemeal they have, until recently at least, despised. They would purposely allow the evils to grow, that the uprising may come sooner and be more thorough. The Christians gave in to Cæsar, the socialists to the trusts. The Christians rejoiced in the rapid deterioration of the world, till in a cataclysm it should be replaced by the millennium. So the socialists, expecting good out of evil, delight in the growth of monopoly and exploitation toward the point of unendurableness, after which there will be an overturning of things, an "expropriation of the expropriators," seizure of capital by the labourers, and "a good time coming." Though they differed in thinking that the happy new period was to be introduced, the ones, by Christ, the others, by man, they both believed and believe it to be inevitable. Christianity was, consequently, a salvation religion: so is socialism, with the difference that the one offered personal salvation, and the other offers social salvation.[16] Both were and are attempts to get rid of the struggle for existence, by putting an end to strife and competition, and introducing brotherly love and mutual assistance. Both put women on a par with men, as comrades and sisters, and were at a loss to know what to do with marriage. They both nauseate by the pictures of overabundant happiness they set up. The Christians believed in a speedy end of the world, to be followed, for themselves at least, by an eternal heaven. The socialists believe in a speedy end of the present order of the world, to be followed, for all men of good will, by a perpetual reign of peace and concord upon earth — even with an entire change of human nature, like Paul's rise from corruption into incorruption, with a new heaven and a new earth, "wherein dwelleth righteousness."[17] Jesus said that one of his hearers would live to see the new time; and Bebel,

15 Describing it backward from a future period, Bellamy says: "The presumption was, since the interest of kings and classes had always been exactly opposed to those of the people, that whatever the previous governments had done, the people as rulers ought not to do, and whatever the previous governments had not done, it would be presumably for the interest of the people to do," *Equality*, 20.

16 *Cf.* Bellamy: "The Great Revival [as he calls the coming revolution] was a tide of enthusiasm for the social, not the personal, salvation, and for the establishment in brotherly love of the kingdom of God on earth, which Christ bade men hope and work for," *Equality*, 340.

17 *Cf.* Bellamy, *Looking Backward*, 202.

undismayed, said at the Erfurt convention in 1891: "I am sure the realisation of our ultimate purpose is so near at hand that but few in this hall will not live to see the day." [18] The Christians had to abandon that expectation, when the advance of time disappointed it. And so the socialists are already shedding their confidence. And with this change go others, in both cases. The Christians compromised with the world as it existed, and so the socialists are now doing. The Christians had to renounce some of their most cherished ideals, as impracticable,— *e. g.,* that of non-resistance. So the socialists will have to give up their impracticable ideals, such as that of perfect equality. And as a result, even when Christianity itself became prevalent throughout the Roman world, the world did not see the improvement expected. And so we may anticipate a similar disappointment when socialists get the upper hand throughout the world: the new world, even the new civilisation of the next cycle, though better than ours, will not realise one-tenth of the happy things promised by socialism. Christianity found that it could not be managed from below: it needed the upper classes, and a new hierarchy of its own was set up. So socialism will become a success only when socialist doctrine shall have been accepted by the upper classes of society. But, for this, its doctrines will need adaptation, which may amount to perversion.

Still, one thing is certain: the world will continue to be run by its strongest and wisest men — if not here to-day, yet elsewhere, and here too to-morrow. Its fate is in their hands. And they will form the upper classes. These are the men who at present stand in most need of improvement. It is they who need a better training, discipline, and education,[19]— especially in our country, where they seem to have but two ideals — of increasing their fortunes by work at home and of spending them in idleness abroad. Not so much to overthrow them (for what have we to set in their place?), but to reform them, is the crying need of the age. If they will not learn that the management of affairs was entrusted to them not for their own selfish ends, if they continue to cheat, to grab, and to exult, the lower classes may again sweep them away, regardless of consequences, and then try to rear up a new set in their place, or erect over them a despot, who will be a thorn in their flesh, as the emperors were in the days of degenerate Rome. This is the amount of accomplishment in their own behalf the lower classes

18 *Protokoll* of the meeting, p. 172. *Cf. Die Frau:* We have nearly arrived at the point "where the time is fulfilled," 377.

19 *Cf.* Pearson: "The education of the so-called upper or wealth-owning classes is an imperative necessity. They must be taught a new morality, *Ethic of Freethought,* 346, *cf.* 348–9.

have so far been capable of. It is for the upper classes to provide something better. They should at least live up to their light, and not permit self-interest to obscure the truths of science.

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